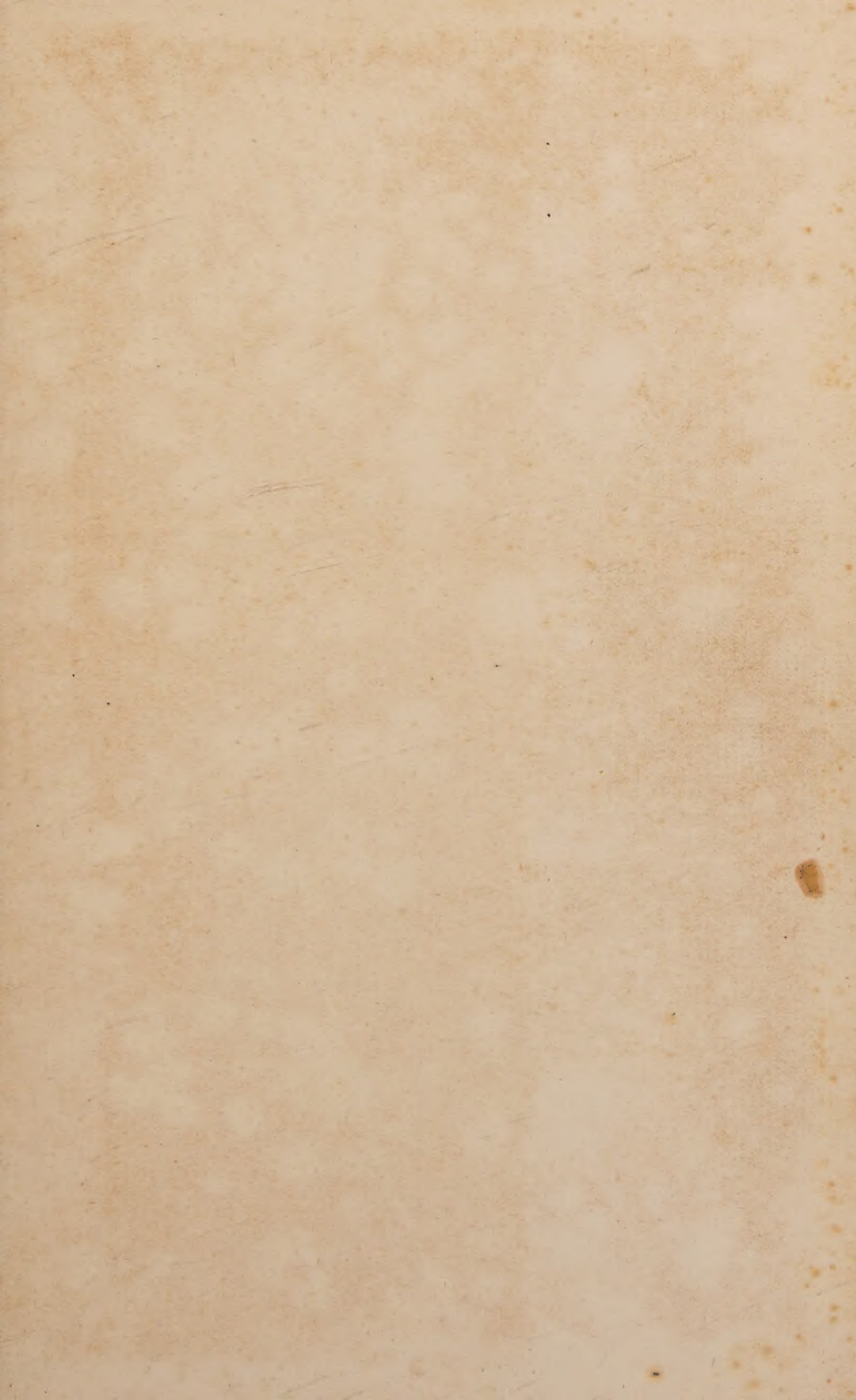




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THE BERNARDS OF ABINGTON AND
NETHER WINCHENDON

VOL. IV.

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THE BERNARDS OF ABINGTON
AND NETHER WINCHENDON:

A FAMILY HISTORY.

By MRS. NAPIER HIGGINS.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., 39 Paternoster Row, London
New York and Bombay.

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A Family History

BY
MRS. NAPIER HIGGINS

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THE life of Julia Smith at Wendover was not marked by striking events. She has herself told the story of its chief domestic incidents :

We were married six years, before any prospect of a family, and the certain expectation of a little one gave us much satisfaction ; and when, relieved from suffering, I pressed my little girl to my breast, I thought it the happiest period of my life.—This was not to continue ; at six weeks the little treasure was suddenly taken from us after she had smiled upon me ; a severe trial.¹

In a letter to Scrope, Mr. Smith mentions that Julia's 'steady good sense and firmness of mind have enabled her to bear her loss feelingly indeed, but with resignation.' He adds : 'I put your letter into her hands yesterday ; she seems doubtful of her being equal to the hurry of London at present.' The Smiths were then, in February 1786, staying

¹ From a MS. in the possession of Mrs. Smith's descendants.

with Julia's kind friends of former days, Mrs. and Miss Noyes, at Gaddesden.

Continuing her reminiscences, Mrs. Smith writes :

Fourteen months after, my second daughter Fanny was given to us . . . a son followed in a year and a half, and a little daughter Amelia, a very sweet little creature, spiritual and bright ; she also was snatched from us at nine years. My hopes rested on two when we left Wendover to settle at Melksham.

In 1792, Mr. Smith had written to Scrope Bernard asking his advice concerning the offer of a living in Lincolnshire—the name is not mentioned ; his difficulty being that it would involve the renunciation of Wendover, and perhaps of Aston Abbots also, there being, even then, rules against holding livings above a certain value at great distances from each other. His work in Bucks was laborious, since, in addition to Wendover, he officiated at Aston Abbots and also at the little church of St. Leonard's in Aston Clinton during a considerable number of years. In 1801 Melksham in Wiltshire was bestowed, as Julia states, through the influence of Bishop Barrington, who had then quitted Salisbury for Durham, but had probably obtained a promise from the Dean and Chapter of his vacated See before his departure. At the instance of Thomas Bernard they added the Prebend of North Grantham in Salisbury Cathedral. This piece of preferment was worth only 30*l.* per annum, and was therefore valuable mainly for the slight increase of dignity it conferred.

The income of Melksham was nominally 700*l.*, but was 'not likely to produce a clear 500*l.*' Such as it was, however, with the addition of their private sources of income, which had perhaps increased, it was amply sufficient for the wants of the new vicar and his family ; Julia frequently alludes in her manuscripts to their easy income as one of the blessings for which they ought to thank Providence.

It seems to have been one of the last cares of the Vicar of Wendover and his wife, ere leaving their old home, to erect a tablet in the church, with the following brief

inscription ; it is now probably the only thing left to recall to the present inhabitants of the little town the memory of their sojourn there :¹

Near this tablet are interred the remains of the eldest and youngest daughters of the Rev. Joseph Smith, Vicar of this parish, by Julia his wife : Jane Frances died Jan^y 2nd 1786, aged 6 weeks ; Amelia died March 3rd 1800 aged 9 years. 'Eheu fugaces !'

Sir William Lee, of Hartwell,² the good friend of Sir Francis Bernard and his family, had died in 1799 ; his eldest son survived him only two years—dying in India. This young Sir William had lived a magnificent life as a dragoon officer, and on his death the mansion was to be let. His only brother, who thus became Sir George Lee, had studied medicine in London and Edinburgh, had since taken holy orders, and was at once the priest and physician of his parishioners in Stone and Hartwell.

'After the death of Sir William, before we quitted Buckinghamshire' (writes Julia), 'Mr. Smith and I passed a day and night with Sir George and Lady Elizabeth at a little Vicarage at Stone, near to that spacious and elegant mansion Hartwell, where we had enjoyed so much of their excellent society, and which was now deserted.'

It was probably the last meeting. Sir George resigned the livings of Stone and Hartwell in 1803, and obtained other preferment. Lady Elizabeth died in 1811 ; he survived till 1827, dying at Beachampton, Bucks.

Of Sir George, Julia writes that he followed in his father's steps : 'Paralytic and weak in body, he lived to some age ; his mind strong, all his feelings excellent.'

The wrench—for such it must have been—from the home of so many years of married life, and from the county in which her family now appeared firmly rooted, once over, Julia took kindly to her new sphere of occupation ; and

¹ Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Wendover.'

² Smyth, *Ædes Hartwellianæ*, ch. ii., 'The Successive Lords of the Manor of Hartwell.' Also Debrett, *The Baronetage of England*.

from this time forward her life may be clearly and almost minutely traced by the manuscripts she left to her descendants.¹ Before quitting Wendover she had begun the habit of noting events, public and private, in writing. And these notices became much more frequent after her settlement at Melksham.

They are intermingled with extracts from her favourite books, and these are sometimes accompanied by original observations; so that the series of manuscripts affords a distinct picture of the workings of her mind in joy and sorrow, in calm and in trouble. Her career continued to be uneventful, as the world reckons events—it is, indeed, marked chiefly by domestic anxieties and bereavements; but her reflective disposition and deep piety lend interest to these records. The notices of public events must have been taken from the newspapers, and are sometimes mixed with what may be termed newspaper gossip; but they form a curious collection of forgotten or disregarded facts.

The great move in 1802 is accurately chronicled:

On the 10th of May we left our residence at Wendover, where we had lived together twenty-two years, (Mr. Smith having held the living twenty-four years,) in much comfort and domestic peace, bating those afflictions which are the unavoidable lot of human nature, and removed to the living of Melksham.

The weather in those days appears to have been fully as eccentric as at present; of this there are many instances in Julia's writings, beginning with the month in which she entered her new home.

Tuesday the 11th was excessively hot; the night of the 14th and 15th was so severe a frost that the gardens were entirely spoilt; green gooseberries dropped off the trees, the wall-fruit was nipt, the blossoms entirely killed, horse-chestnuts nipt, even the leaves as if burnt, and all the flowering shrubs checked. Ice half an inch thick was to be seen in many places. In about five days after this, it was extremely hot, and continued so for a week or more.—On the 15th there were severe storms of hail, and snow fell in large flakes.

¹ These manuscripts were lent to me by the kindness of Mrs. Smith's granddaughter, Mrs. Schneider.

Melksham, the new home of the family, was nearly three times the size of Wendover, and involved therefore more occupation both for the vicar and his wife; but Julia, for some years, scarcely alludes to parochial work. The locality is described as follows, in a *Gazetteer*¹ of 1822, when Mr. Smith was still incumbent:

Melksham, a market-town of England in the county of Wilts, situated on the river Avon, which runs through it. It consists chiefly of one long irregularly built street. The houses are neat and chiefly of freestone. The church is a large and spacious building, with a tower in the centre, and two transepts or chapels on the south side. There are besides several other places of worship in the town, of which the chief are the meeting-houses for the Independents and Baptists. Melksham is a place of great antiquity, and was of some consequence before and after the Norman conquest. It is now chiefly noted for its manufactures of broad-cloth, of a superior quality, great quantities of which are made here. Market every other Monday, a large cattle market. Population of parish 4110.—95 miles S. of London.

The vicarage, from a rough sketch lent me, seems to have been an unpretending house with a pretty garden.

The vicar and his wife may have hoped that the climate of Wiltshire would benefit the constitutions of their remaining children, as it was probably milder than Bucks; but Julia Smith had scarcely settled in her house when she was weighed down with anxiety concerning the health of her only surviving daughter Frances, a girl of remarkable promise. From the pencil notes of Frances, copied by her mother some time later, we learn that in the winter following their arrival she took a long walk in very severe weather, which she felt to have been too much for her. The next week she danced at a ball till four o'clock, and was utterly exhausted in the morning.

At that time there was a pleasant, friendly party in the house, her brother Bernard was at home for the holidays; and another member of the circle was a Mr. Bunn, who explained the Prophecies to Frances, a subject in which she

¹ The *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, vol. iv., 'Melksham,' 1822.

was much interested, though she did think that her instructor was not always judicious. One evening—

Papa read 'the Critic'¹ to us—an interlude of Prophecy between the acts by Mr. B. which struck me as rather ill-timed.

When the party broke up Frances was at first sad, but in a short time she rejoiced over the effects of that week on her mental condition :

I find my feelings and ideas so altered, so enlarged, and so raised, I know not how, that I scarcely seem to myself the same creature I have been.

Then she is suffering from a sprained foot—how caused is not stated—and on Sunday, February 27, writes: 'Completed my 16th year. Confined to the house with my foot, began Law's "Christian Perfection."' The following Tuesday, when her parents spent the evening out, she suffered from a pain in the head such as she had never felt before. And thus she gradually appears more and more lapsing into the character of an invalid, although the foot, which did not heal, seems at first to have been considered the seat of the evil.

When disabled from active exertion Frances made reading her chief solace; she studied books on the evidences of Christianity, especially the Prophecies, occasionally perused history and travels, and became fond of astronomy. She writes: 'Nothing scarcely appears to me so sublime—so elevated—so enlarging to the mind, so to raise ourselves above everything.' For her uncle, Thomas Bernard, she entertained a special regard, and rejoiced when he sent a number of his 'Tracts, Reports, &c.,' to Melksham, adding: 'His introductory letters to the Reports, and all his writings, breathe the sentiments of so noble and benevolent a heart that my heart's desire is that I may through my career make it my aim to imitate such an example; though I believe my own dear and worthy Mama, and his other Sisters, to be actuated by the same spirit; but it does not

¹ Apparently Sheridan's play of that name.

diffuse itself in that extensive and honourable degree.' And when Mr. Bernard calls in July with her cousin, Thomas Baker, she says: 'Every time I admire and respect my Uncle's character more; he is a most charming man.'

Visits from relations were not infrequent. At this period her cousin, Julia King, was at Alveston, which was within reach of Melksham, and Emily, then Mrs. Collinson, is also mentioned. Some other names of neighbours and visitors are recorded—as Miss Heathcote and Miss Dicey; Mrs. Newman and her boy Paul, whose portrait was taken by Frances; and Mr. Shute, to whom Frances was induced by her parents' wish to sing, although very diffident of her powers. At Bath, whither Mrs. Smith took her daughter for advice and the waters, she renewed acquaintance with the Noyes family, then at Batheaston—or rather with the young Mr. Noyes of former days, then married, and surrounded by a family of 'charming children.'

The solemn fast appointed on Wednesday, September 19, 'on account of the menaced invasion' made a deep impression on Frances; she admired her father's sermon, and rejoiced to see a Mr. S. at church, who apparently was not in the habit of coming. After this are chronicled visits to Oxford, Clifton, Ryde, Isle of Wight—for advice, air, or bathing; these visits afforded temporary relief, but worked no permanent improvement. At Oxford she was the guest of Mrs. Platt, a Minshull of Aston Clinton, Bucks. During this time of anxiety the family was cheered by the success of young Bernard Smith at Winchester. Frances hails the 'glorious news' of her brother winning the gold medal in 1803; and the following year, while she was in the Isle of Wight, news reached her of a second triumph. She at once speculates enthusiastically how these achievements may be chronicled when her brother's life is published some fifty or sixty years hence:

His remarkable abilities, which have since proved not only such an honour to himself, but such a blessing to his country, began to display themselves at a very early period of his life.—Before he had attained the age of fifteen, to the surprise and

admiration of all his friends, he gained the gold medal for the best Latin composition in prose, at Winchester—the highest honour attainable at that seminary, and never before known to be gained, but by boys much his superior in age, and station in the school—though that was higher than had been known in any preceding instance.

And to complete the wonder, the following year he again gained the same golden prize for Latin verse, to the still greater surprise of those competent to judge on the subject

To be continued.

‘Man proposes, and God disposes.’ The distinction was considerable, since, as Mrs. Smith notes in her more subdued record, ‘Only one instance was recollected in the school of one boy gaining two gold medals’; and the bright visions of Frances might have become facts in the future had not Bernard early shown sufficient symptoms of the family delicacy to preclude all extraordinary exertions in after-years.

Respecting herself Frances indulged in no bright anticipations for this world. On her return from the Isle of Wight in October she writes :

I hope that I am not wicked or presumptuous, but I cannot now bring myself to think a continuance in this life a thing to be wished, for the sake of any enjoyment it can afford, and as God Himself declares it to be a state of trial and sorrow only, I persuade myself I do not indulge any ideas sinful or displeasing to Him in so esteeming it, and consequently considering the moment of death to the good and deserving as happier than any in their lives can be.

Though she regrets only that she cannot look forward to the next world with

that confidence and rapture which I can so well imagine a person to feel in quitting this world after a course of years ennobled by having dedicated them to the noblest, the first, the one great end of life;

and this she explains to be the preparing for a state of bliss

by becoming the humble instrument in the hand of God of conducting thither the greatest number possible of those of our fellow-

creatures, who perhaps otherwise never might have found the way—by instructing the ignorant, strengthening the weak, and reforming as much as in our power the wicked, in the most enlarged circle we can reach around us. . . . For such a life and such a death only I should wish to live many years. . . .

She never had the solace of thus helping others, except, indeed, by her pious example. She chronicles efforts to attend the Sunday-school, but when she arrives there she is unable to do any good ; no doubt her standard was a high one.

In November she was able to visit and to see company in the house, but without much pleasure ; and the following February (1805) she writes :

The eve of our departure for Bath felt unusually ill, a sick death-like feel all over me ; I think I am now about balanced between life and death ; perhaps this journey to Bath may turn the scale—I feel perfectly resigned to the will of Heaven either way, and truly feel the term ‘resigned’ fully as applicable to life as death.

A few days later she becomes much worse :

A most violent attack yesterday of pain in my side, such as I never experienced before—felt as if I could not breathe another minute. I think I am certainly now in a consumption, and probably shall not outlive the Spring—my poor dear Mama very uneasy, and is gone to consult a physician.

Were it not that I know my dear Parents will both suffer if they lose me, and I may without vanity think that they will suffer severely, I could die so happily, trusting in God’s goodness, and pardon for all my faults.

The afflicted parents did not give up hope. Her mother notes :

We passed three months this summer at Weymouth ; a cheerful place for invalids, but not in my opinion a healthy one ; the water is particularly unwholesome. The Royal Family being there the place was all alive and very amusing.

Frances had probably rallied in the warm weather, and she lingered till the winter. The end seems to have come

with unexpected suddenness at last. Her mother had taken her to London, or rather Kensington, presumably for further advice; the rest may be told in Mrs. Smith's own words:

After two years of the most anxious, distressing fluctuation of hopes and fears, my dearest and last surviving daughter Frances, aged eighteen, was taken from us at Kensington, in the house of my Sister Mrs. King, and is interred in the vault of that church. Alas! the last hope of our domestic comfort, the severest trial we have yet known. Our Son cannot be much at home; may God preserve him to console our declining years!

In a commemorative notice of the event, written in 1811, Mrs. Smith writes:

Sunday, Decr 1.—This is the Eve of the day 6 years since that my heart's treasure was taken from me to eternal blessedness, and it is the same day of the week. On the Sunday she dined with me in the drawing-room under her bedchamber at Kensington, and on the Monday night she was the companion of blessed spirits, as I trust. No loss could have been more deep, no trial more severe. Early she was snatched from our love, but not too early for her future happiness. Every spiritual end of this existence was answered in her trials: proof of patience and piety—indifference for this world, longings, and hopes of a better—entire resignation—earnest desire to do extensive good, which, though not favoured by opportunity and time, are yet in estimation of her Creator complete; her bright example also of humility and heavenly-mindedness forming a most valuable lesson to all who shall know of it: a lesson which would have been in a manner unknown had she lived till now, such was the unobtrusive retirement of her disposition.

Shortly before her death Frances had written a paper for the perusal of her parents when all should be over, expressive of entire resignation and almost of the rapture she had, at an earlier stage of her illness, deemed beyond her attainment; her only trouble being the terrible grief which she knew her loss would prove to her family. It would be scarcely right to publish this sacred effusion and the prayer which her mother wrote on reading it. But of this and others of her daughter's papers Mrs. Smith writes: 'These,

as they were sweetly intended, prove a source of comfort to us her sorrowing parents, and tend to raise our hearts from earthly selfish feelings to the hope ere long of joining this beloved child in scenes of endless happiness.'

The impression was lasting; in Mrs. Smith's manuscript volumes there are numerous allusions to her deep sorrow, and sometimes she couples with the recollection of Frances a tribute to the memory of her younger and earlier lost daughter, Amelia, who appears to have promised, so far as her tender age allowed, to equal the purity and piety of her sister.

In the commemorative notice of 1811 Julia Smith touches on the effects of this bereavement upon her own life:

To me the spiritual advantages of this most severe trial have been, I am convinced, considerable. Had I possessed this dear Soul in health and comfort, I should perhaps have been thoughtlessly happy, and too gaily enjoyed the social pleasures of this world. Now all seems to me so incomplete; her lost presence so continually pursues me in every scene, as to prevent all attachment to worldly enjoyments, and to make me sit light to all this world can offer.

Deprived of her interesting society, and often alone, I have more exercised *my talents* and reflections than I should have done, and I hope in some degree to usefulness; certainly I have devoted more time to the relief and comfort of the distressed than I could when engaged either in the education, or anxious care and attention to my child.

Julia, as already stated, is chary of mentioning her good works. From an incidental paragraph, dated 'Nov. 29, 1812,' it is evident that her husband had established a school in Melksham, which must have furnished her with employment. In this she mentions a Mr. Whale, 'the most useful and active man in this parish for the poor,' who 'attended the funeral of our schoolmistress on Sunday afternoon, and was himself buried the Thursday after; a very awful instance of sudden removal.'

Extracts from books, some of them very solid ones, notes of sermons, and selections from newspapers, were now more

numerous, and show how Julia endeavoured to prevent her mind from brooding over her own sorrows. She was at length induced to undertake the composition, and eventually the private publication, of a small volume on a subject which—by some of her notes—appears to have taken a strong hold of her imagination and sympathies. She was profoundly loyal; devotion to the sovereign was, indeed, under George III., returning to the position it occupied in the Stuart days, as a part of religion. The fate of the sovereigns wrecked by the French Revolution, and its outcome, the Emperor Napoleon—who with her, as with many other English, is always ‘Bonaparte’—inspired her with profound and respectful pity.

In 1807 she writes admiringly of ‘the noble King of Sweden, the only sovereign on the Continent who had persevered in making a stand against the Destroyer.’ The interest with which she followed the career of this ill-fated Prince probably led her to study the history of Sweden, and to make the domestic life of the previous king, Gustavus III., the topic of her pen.

The volume thus composed was entitled ‘Letters of the Swedish Court, written chiefly in the early part of the Reign of Gustavus III.’¹ It was printed anonymously in 1809, and is dedicated ‘To an illustrious and much-injured personage,’ evidently Caroline of Brunswick, Princess of Wales. The case of this unfortunate lady was evidently connected, in the mind of the authoress, with the subject of her book, which is the estrangement of Gustavus III., the father of Gustavus IV., from his queen during the first years of their married life. But she admits that the circumstances were in many respects different.

History has scarcely endorsed the high opinion of Caroline expressed by Mrs. Smith in her preface, nor has it

¹ The full title is ‘Letters of the Swedish Court, written chiefly in the early part of the Reign of Gustavus III.; to which is added an Appendix containing an Account of the Assassination of that Monarch, with some interesting Anecdotes of the Court of St. Petersburg during the Visit of the Duke of Sudermania and the present King of Sweden to the Russian Capital.’

recognised Gustavus III. as a model husband during any period of his married life, though he never, apparently, proclaimed his dislike of his wife in such unseemly modes as George IV. Julia, indeed, appears to have taken her views of Swedish affairs from a book entitled ‘Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden,’ and from Sheridan’s ‘Revolution in Sweden,’ which may then have been accepted as authorities. As regarded the Princess of Wales, she shared the feelings of a large portion of the British public, excited by the ill-treatment she had met with from the first moment of her arrival in England; her conduct in after-years Julia seems to have been compelled, eventually, to deplore and condemn.

In her book, Gustavus III., then Crown Prince, repelled by his young wife’s timidity and constraint, and misled by her enemies—among whom was his own mother—neglects her until an explanation is brought about, and the story ends happily. The narratives of his assassination, and of his son’s unfortunate courtship of a Russian grand duchess are given separately at the end of the volume, in a simple historical form. That the many fine qualities of Gustavus IV. were marred by eccentric and morbid tendencies Julia was not apparently disposed to admit.

Like many writers of historical fiction, the authoress thought needful to pretend that the letters were genuine, and her preface, addressed ‘To the Reader,’ begins:

By what means the following letters came into the Editor’s hands, he is not at liberty to say. In the discomfiture of all quiet and regular governments by the terrific and overbearing strides of one power, that have shaken all Europe to its centre, it may not appear totally impossible that an uncommon circumstance should have thrown into the hands of a traveller copies of the originals. The interest that every noble mind must take, in all that concerns a kingdom, so gallantly upheld by the high-spirited and worthy successor of the great Gustavus III, may be deemed a sufficient apology for producing them to the public; and to add to the interest they may possess, it can with confidence be asserted, that there is not a fact alluded to in them but what is sanctioned by the history of the time.

The career of Count Scheffer, of whom she speaks in one of her manuscript volumes as 'the most perfect, valuable and interesting of any real character I recollect,' occupies too many pages to be here transcribed, and the whole narrative has, of course, lost the attraction it may have possessed at the time it was written ; but a few lines are here given, describing the Countess Fersen, because they show Julia's conception, founded, as she states, on facts, of a model woman, who, uncrushed by trouble, after vain efforts to reclaim her husband from vice, turns her attention to the work it is still in her power to accomplish : ¹

When the Countess was convinced that she was labouring at a hopeless task, she determined patiently to submit to her fate ; avoiding all expostulation or reproach, she never apparently abated of her tender affection towards him ; but received him, at all times with mild sweetness, and unreproving gentleness ; by which means she always preserved the first place in his esteem and friendship. But the heart was wounded,—disappointed of that tender union of mind and sentiment, which she had once looked to as the charm of her future life—for she really loved him—a concealed grief preyed upon her.

By what means did this amiable creature seek to dissipate it ?—by the pursuit of empty gaiety, or of trifling female occupations ?—The exalted benevolence of her heart furnished her with a surer refuge. In a distant, unoccupied wing of their extensive dwelling, she fitted up an hospital for the reception of old and sickly women, to whom she administered comfort and assistance herself, with the most tender and winning assiduity, and made them warm and suitable garments with her own hands.

In this occupation, and in the care of her young family, did she pass her time, and has continued ever since to be universally respected and beloved for the goodness of her character, and the gentle unassuming politeness of her manners.

This saint-like matron was apparently the mother of the unfortunate Count Fersen,² famous for his chivalrous

¹ *Letters of the Swedish Court*, Letter VI.

² Gaulot (Paul), *A Friend of the Queen*, translated by Mrs. Cashel Hoey. This book strongly maintains the purity of the relations between Queen Marie Antoinette and Count John Axel Fersen ; *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xiv., 'Fersen (Axel, Comte de),' C—au (Catteau Calleville), and vol. viii., 'Charles Auguste, C—au (Catteau Calleville).

attachment to Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, who, after narrowly escaping death at the hands of the French Revolutionists, perished some years later in a popular tumult in Stockholm. The Countess, by birth Hedwige Catherine de la Gardie, belonged to a family of French origin, but long distinguished in Sweden.

Sophia Magdalena of Denmark, the consort of the Crown Prince, afterwards Gustavus III., expresses great joy at the appointment of Countess Fersen to be governess of her Household, and in the same letter, which is addressed to her sister, Princess Caroline of Denmark, describes with some felicity of expression the compensation of her own lot, then overcast :

There is a state of mind and heart, a self-possession, a sort of enjoyment of the feelings and faculties, which I know not readily how to depict to my Sister, though I feel it strongly myself. I once met with a little poem entitled 'The Joy of Grief.' This then appeared to me paradoxical ; but I could now, I think, pen a dissertation on the enjoyment of trials and deprivations. I fancy I see you smile ; do not, my Caroline, suppose me romantic ; that I never was : but I think that under the most severe disappointments, a divine dispensation—if we patiently abide, and thwart not the benign intention by impatience or despondency—throws into the soul a gleam of comfort, which in time soothes, composes, supports us—turns that which was once sorrow into a degree of happiness, conscious patience, a heavenly calm, insensibility to common sources of vexation, a sort of divine amalgamation in the soul.

The poem entitled 'The Joy of Grief' is to be found in one of Julia's memorandum books, with the notice that it is taken 'From the Newspapers.' Three verses, 'substituted for others,' are, however, probably by her, since they refer to the sadness of separation and the subsequent consolation resulting from faith in the happiness of the beloved one.

In the same year, 1807, Mrs. Smith records with thankfulness her own narrow escape from death :

On our return from a very pleasant tour in Devonshire, on a visit to Sir Thomas Wheate at Cannington near Bridgewater,

September 16, drawing up the window curtain in my bedchamber,—the curtain rod, an upright heavy painted one to a double window, fell instantly on my head, nearly stunned me, laid the corner of it open to the bone, and covered it with blood. The terror of my dear husband was excessive, and his anxiety great, till a surgeon—in two hours—from Bridgewater, pronounced it in no way a dangerous case, though a most miraculous preservation, as had it fallen on the top, it must have beat in the skull.

I could never consider sudden death to pious Christians to be lamented on their own account, but the shock is great to those near and dear to them, and so deeply was I struck with the sense of the misery such a stroke must have caused to my husband and son, that my first sensations, after the pain and hurry of the stunning blow had subsided, were those of joyful thankfulness that they were spared such a trial. My senses never quite left me, and on my bed with a wounded head, waiting for surgical assistance, my sensations were a species of enjoyment, so mercifully does God shed His holy calm and comforts over us in our trials, if by our own impatience and irritation we do not frustrate His gracious designs towards us.

On this occasion Julia composed a devout prayer, which is followed in her manuscript by further pious reflections. The third day after her accident she left Cannington, apparently on a Saturday, and continued her narrative on Sunday :

Being safely returned home, but not quite well enough to attend church this day, September 20, my present resolution, from which I hope nothing will turn me, is to enter no other house till I have offered my thanksgivings in the House of God, and received the Holy Sacrament, which happily will be administered next Sunday.

And on that Sunday she writes, after prayerful ejaculations :

I trust through the mercy of God I partook of the whole service on this Sunday with heartfelt devotion,—with emotion I am sure I did, almost too strong for my weak frame to support,—that I was after so alarming an accident, again permitted to enter my own church, alive, and in my perfect senses ; praised be God !

CHAPTER XX

FANNY KING'S TOUR IN FRANCE

Fanny King's Family—Amelia White—Marriage of Amelia or Emily King—Departure of Mr. and Mrs. King to France—The Pas de Calais—French Travelling Arrangements in 1802—The Cheapness of Food in France—A Street Auction—Boulogne—A French Coachman—Poverty of the Peasantry—Clermont—Arrival at Paris—A Fête—The Tuileries and St. Cloud—The Streets of Paris—A Victim of the Bastille—St. Sulpice Church.

FANNY KING had become the mother of twins, named Henry and Amelia, in the year following her marriage. As I have been told, the girl appeared sickly, and her mother in consequence devoted herself to this child, who grew up and became the mother of a numerous family, and died at a great age. The boy, who, being strong and healthy, seemed to require less exclusive care, died at the age of one year of a sudden attack while teething. Another daughter was born in 1786, named Julia Priscilla, and a third—Elizabeth—in 1792.

The death of this last child in July 1801 appears to have been a severe blow to Mrs. King, whose descendants still preserve a ringlet, on the envelope containing which the words 'Precious little Hair' had been written by the sorrowing mother.

It is singular that in the two preceding years both Mrs. King's surviving sisters, Jane White and Julia Smith, should have lost a daughter. Julia has to some extent told the story of her life, its joys and sorrows, in her manuscripts; her child and Mrs. White's child were both named Amelia, after the mother they revered; but of Amelia White I know next to nothing, although she was much the oldest of the three daughters who passed away at this period.

Amelia White was the only grandchild Sir Francis

Bernard can have welcomed to Aylesbury. She was twenty-one at the time of her death in December 1799. There is such a complete dearth for many years of letters in my collection from Mrs. White to her brother Scrope that no particulars of her last days, or indeed of any part of her life, are forthcoming, beyond a few allusions to 'the children' in earlier times, and a mention of her as her mother's companion in Bucks.¹ The only other record of Amelia is her name in Mrs. Beresford's *Cookery Book*, which appears to have been given over to her, and in which she may have written some recipes, since they are not in the handwriting of the original owner. Two children—Charles and Mary—still remained to Mrs. White.

It seems probable that this bereavement was the beginning of a life of increased seriousness and devotion to good works, for which Mrs. White became remarkable; pleasure—so-called—had to some extent lost its attractions.

In 1802 Mrs. King's health was a subject of anxiety. She had spoken of herself as a sufferer from rheumatism some time before, and the affliction of her child Elizabeth's death may have aggravated any previous symptoms of illness.² Amelia, or Emily, her eldest daughter, who, though only nineteen, was engaged to the Rev. John Collinson, then at Queen's College, Oxford, wrote to her betrothed on March 4 that her father's curate was married and his tenant dead, and that these events compelled him to return to Morden without delay.

According to present arrangements [she continues] I believe we start this day fortnight, and you will see some friends of yours (Papa, Mama, Julia, and I) on Friday evening, 19th, at Oxford. We spend Sunday at my Uncle Smith's about thirty miles from Oxford, and on Monday we shall reach Morden.

Emily was anxious that Mr. Collinson should assist in persuading her father to be at Alveston again in May.

¹ MS. and book, lists, dates, communicated by the Collinson family, also information received *viva voce*. 'Book of Family Dates' communicated by the Collinson family.

² MS. books compiled from original documents by the Collinson family.

The result was, however, a dislocation of the family plans. It is stated in a note that :

Upon the receipt of this letter Mr. Collinson left Oxford for Bristol, and was married to Miss King, April 20—1802. Emily accompanied her husband to Oxford where he was soon afterwards ordained priest.

It appears by a letter¹ from Captain Baker to his favourite niece, Julia King, that the other members of the family had then decided to leave Bristol the first week in May for Steeple Morden. They accomplished the journey, and possibly remained some weeks in Cambridgeshire ; but Mrs. King's health did not improve, and a complete change was decided upon. It so happened that the Peace of Amiens, signed in the previous March, between France and England, opened the tempting prospect of a new experience. This was eagerly embraced—satisfactory arrangements were no doubt made for Julia and three young ladies, who may have been still with the family—and then Mr. and Mrs. King departed on their way to France.

The tour did not extend beyond Paris, but the travellers noted scenes which few tourists of the present day would condescend to describe, or even behold. Mrs. King's Journal, afterwards published,² depicts no startling events, except in a few passages where she alludes to the scenes of the Revolution ; but it chronicles some particulars which are of interest respecting the state of France at the beginning of the nineteenth century. How far the nation has varied from the type then presented, and how far the original features are preserved is a topic worth consideration, and the remarks thrown together in Mrs. King's little volume furnish their quota towards its elucidation.

The style now appears careless, and somewhat marred by repetitions, but since the manuscript was subjected to the criticism of literary friends, as well as of the author's erudite husband, it is evident that the canon of composition

¹ MS. books compiled from original documents by the Collinson family.

² Under the title of a *Tour in France*.

was then different from ours; indeed, this conclusion is strengthened by many works of higher pretension whose writers were about contemporary with Mrs. King.

The Journal begins :

Monday, August the 9th, we left London for Dover, where we did not arrive till the 11th; an extremely bad state of health, for which the air of the continent was prescribed, having protracted that short journey three days. We went on board the packet between eight and nine at night, and landed at Calais the next morning, much disgusted with our voyage, being detained and tossed about by contrary winds the whole night. We had the choice of two evils;—that of remaining on the deck, amid the thunder, lightning, and rain, as Mr. King sleeping under a sailor's great-coat,—or encountering the intense heat, which I was obliged to submit to, of a cabin fourteen feet square and containing twenty-eight persons,—some in the different cots, one above the other like cupboards,—and the rest spread on the floor.

On land at Calais, the different appearance of everything was very striking, and we could scarcely believe that we were only twenty-four miles from England, that Dover Cliffs and Castle were in view. We seemed among a new race of people, their cast of countenance, manners and dress, were so different from our own.

The dress of the peasantry in France is singular, and their fondness for baubles and ornaments ridiculous. Most of the women had earrings and drops of an enormous size, some hanging down very low; and every yellow, shrivelled neck is adorned with a very fine necklace, with some shining ornament in the centre. If beauty 'when unadorned' is 'adorned the most,' how ridiculous must be deformity, when loaded with a profusion of ornaments.

I fear that the fishwomen and market-women of the Pas de Calais are not the only persons touched by this observation. Some of their splendour, moreover, probably consisted of heirlooms, which were thus preserved, and formed an indication of the wearer's social status.

But Mrs. King did not believe in the genuineness of all the jewellery. She says :

The men also wear earrings of a size and shape equal to the largest curtain-rings; and we observed them on children, and

even on infants; they are generally made of brass; but the better sort of people have them of gold, or gilt.

The peasant women have long cloaks of printed cotton, with armholes and hoods, and trimmed all round; this cloak serves as an envelope for any sort of dress, or even for no dress at all; we met several who seemed to have scarce any other clothing. They never wear bonnets nor hats, *nor indeed the ladies*. They walk about in caps; and those of the peasantry resemble those in fashion many years ago in England and known by the name of French nightcaps. Their usual dress is a petticoat of one stuff, and a very short jacket of another; the petticoat is generally of blue woollen and the jacket red; and if they can accomplish a jacket of figured cotton, it is a mark of distinction. They seem neat in their dress, and particularly clean about the head.

The travellers put up at the Silver Lion, then owned by Quillac, nephew to Dessein, the former proprietor. Mrs. King expresses surprise at its size and grandeur:

No one that I had ever seen in England equalled it; it is like a college, and consists of two quadrangles; one side of the first quadrangle consists of a kitchen sixty feet long, and other offices; and the other three sides are suites of elegant apartments, some thirty feet long, and furnished in a style not common to an inn; the chairs and drapery chiefly consist of different coloured silks, damasks, and satin brocades.

The inner quadrangle contained a pretty garden with a shady walk; and one of its sides was allotted to residential suites. There was also a handsome theatre, then out of repair; the prices of the seats were low, but it was poorly attended; the acting fair, but the pieces inferior and silly. Such at least was Mrs. King's opinion, formed no doubt on the plays she had seen in England. The prompter was a woman, visible in her box on the stage from the side-boxes occupied by the audience, who knitted in the intervals of the performances.

In the hotel the travellers lived comfortably and even luxuriously:

The apartments we occupied consisted of three rooms; the paper of the sittingroom was very beautiful, and the chairs were covered with white satin brocaded with flowers. We were served

in our own apartment with a dinner of five little elegant dishes, and our bill was only seven livres (5s. 10d.) including wine, dessert, and coffee.

One day they had the curiosity to dine at the table d'hôte, and there Mrs. King was chiefly struck by the 'huge melon,' which was the first dish put upon the table, and was eaten with the meat, 'by all but the English.'

The first glance at French travelling arrangements for the road revealed a singular contrast to the refinement which prevailed inside the buildings :

I saw four horses put to Lord Guildford's carriage for him and his family to proceed to Paris, and nothing could be more inconsistent and *malpropre*, than the elegant English carriage and the wretched horses and tackle that were put to it,—four miserable looking animals, not starved, but looking more dirty and forlorn than the shabbiest English carthorses, and in harness made of rope, with which they were tied to the carriage ; a single postillon as inelegant as the horses, drove the four ; he rode the wheel-horse, and with a rope guided the horse directly before him ; the two off-horses were tied to the other, and seemed entirely guided by their motions.

Ere long the travellers moved into lodgings in the Rue du Havre. The description of the house given in the Journal is attractive ; on the roof was a

Belvedere with a window looking every way ; on one side a fine expanse of sea, and Dover Castle and Cliffs in the horizon ; on the other side a wide extent of country ; and beneath us as in a panorama, the harbour, the town, and the quay of Calais.

Mrs. King also admired the complete mediæval fortifications, the massive surrounding wall with arched gateways, always closed at a certain hour for the night, and the pleasant walk on the ramparts. All these I also remember. They have been destroyed quite recently, and with them a host of memories ; well-nigh the whole history of Calais, indeed, linked as it was with the annals of both France and England. In their stead stretches a dreary waste, interspersed with ugly buildings rising at random, leading to

very dismal quays. The old market-place still retains some vestige of picturesqueness, but looks sadly forlorn amid the general desolation.

To return to the experiences of that tour in bygone days, it appears that, as might have been expected, Mrs. King was shocked by the French Sunday ; yet she admits that the churches were crowded in the morning, and that, however much they fell short of English strictness in many ways, no public works appeared to be carried on during the day. In some other respects the people were entitled to high praise :

From our windows I had many opportunities of observing the customs and manners of the town, and I remarked an indefatigable industry among the lower orders of people I was not taught to expect. They are always employed ; and from that circumstance probably arises the neatness of their dress, and an appearance of comfort and cheerfulness superior to what appears amongst the English poor. The plenty and cheapness of provisions is indeed one cause, and plans of economy in preparing their food unknown to us.

Mrs. King notes that ‘sugar is dear and butter not cheap’ ; but almost every other article of ordinary consumption was decidedly more moderate than in England. ‘Tea is in great plenty and general use, very reasonable and good’ ; and ‘English beer, brewed there, is everywhere to be had, cheaper than in England.’ She continues :

I was often entertained by a singular scene under our window, what they call a *vente* (auction). A large table was spread in the street, and benches set round it ; two or three dozen poor women assembled, all according to custom with some work in their hands, with which they employed themselves whilst they bid for and examined the different articles, exposed on the table by a man who performed the office of auctioneer. The articles exposed to sale were damaged earthenware, mutilated household goods, and patched articles of wearing apparel ; a pair of bellows without a nose, sold for $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; a lot of plates all damaged, for $2d.$; and a flannel petticoat with very little of the original in it, sold for $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ This is the method used by brokers for disposing of all the rubbish which in public sales falls to their lot.

Such a method might have presented difficulties in England ; but the writer remarks :

Petty thefts are never thought of or suspected ; and people expose drawers, cupboards, and property of all sorts, without an idea of care ; house-breaking is never heard of.

Mr. King wrote to Scrope Bernard confirming his wife's favourable opinion of Calais. After notifying her improvement in health and spirits, he proceeds : ¹

There is only one thing wanting, which I find she can have at Boulogne, which is a bathing-machine and a warm bath. . . . The town, I understand, has been greatly improved lately and is the pleasantest town in France on the sea-coast. We have been much pleased with the great civilities of all sorts of people in this town, and shall leave it not without regret, but as Fanny's health is our main object, we must do everything we can to get it re-established. As you have visited the Continent, a description of places and manners cannot be interesting to you, for though the political revolution has been so great, I can perceive very little difference in the manners of the people. I was in France in the year 1774. The only thing we have to complain of is the prohibition of English papers ; if some have offended, I don't see why all should be prohibited.

It is astonishing to see the numbers of English that come in with every packet, but they generally go on to Paris or Spa immediately. Mr. Fox stayed here one day at Dessein's hotel, which I think is the best I ever knew, much superior to anything of the kind in England.²

In a postscript Mr. King adds :

Mr. Fox, Lord Guilford, Alderman Combe and about thirty other Englishmen were presented last Thursday to Bonaparte.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² 'The Hotel Dessin, where Sterne and Sir Walter Scott lodged, in Rue Royale, is converted into Baths, a Museum, and Schools' (Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in France*, Part I. (1888).) A second Hotel Dessin, or Dessein, is mentioned in the same volume, a 'Successor to Quillac.' It was kept by a Monsieur and Madame Dessin, probably of the old connection, and superior people. I have stayed in this hotel, which was a large building, enclosing a court, though not of course equal to its predecessor. I am told that the house still exists, but no longer as an hotel. The deaths of the proprietors and the changes in Calais sealed its fate.

The letter is dated 'September 5, 1802.'

On September 8 Mr. and Mrs. King left Calais; at Wimille they came near the scene of a fatal balloon accident of 1785, caused by fire. The victims, Pilâtre de Rozier and Romsin, were buried in the church¹ and their fate was also commemorated on an obelisk at Wimereux, where they actually fell.

We conversed with a woman who saw their bodies after their fall from a height of more than three miles (writes Mrs. King) and she said there was no injury done to either of them, except that the leg of Pilâtre was broken.

The scenery of this drive is depicted by the authoress as 'wild, romantic, and hilly,' and from the first moment of the approach she was struck with the beauty and picturesque situation of Boulogne, then about twice the size of Calais,

built on a steep rock, hanging down to the sea, and divided into the Upper and Lower Town. The street which unites the two towns is called 'Rue Grande' and is a very handsome street, broad, clean, and well built; it is a steep hill, and the view down it very fine. The walk round the rampart is very romantic and beautiful. It is impossible to describe the richness and variety of scenery which everywhere presents itself to the eye; the walk is about a mile round; on one side is a fine view of the country;—gardens, plantations, and little villas interspersed; and on the other side a fine expanse of ocean, and the beautiful bay and high cliffs; to the right and to the left a fine creek,² running up about two miles into the land, as broad, when the tide is up, as the river Thames, sprinkled with boats and vessels of different sizes, and edged round with a beautiful and varied country. The road to Paris appears close to it, winding through villages and woods, and losing itself in a mountain. Immediately under the eye is the town, hanging from the rock, and edged on each side with gardens, plantations, and walks,—bearing the appearance, at a little distance, of a swarm of bees hanging on a tree.

Our travellers lodged near the quay, then in process of construction and already promising to form a grand addition

¹ Murray's *Handbook of France*, vol. i. (1888).

² The author adds, in a note to the second edition of her *Tour*, 'now filled with gunboats.'

to the town ; as indeed it ought, for I find the statement that ‘ the rough timbers for the business have already cost 100,000*l.*, and the whole work is estimated at a million sterling. Eight hundred men are constantly employed ’ ; and Mrs. King adds :

I am sorry to say that they work a part of every Sunday, though they are allowed the middle of the day to put on their best clothes and go to mass if they please, or to spend the time in idleness and vice if they prefer it.

Something of the same sort may, indeed, be predicated of the workman’s leisure time even in England ; he has the alternative of worship or pleasure-seeking, and most frequently, in these days certainly, chooses the latter. To continue the Journal :

I remarked that this profanation of the Sabbath gave disgust to most of the lower orders of people, though they were cautious how they expressed their opinion.

House rent and provisions were dearer at Boulogne than at Calais,

owing to the numbers of English that reside there, who have introduced many English customs and prices. Two Scotch noblemen with their families live there, and so many of our countrymen have been there for years, even during the Revolution, that the language is become very common, and you can scarcely go into a shop without being addressed in English.

The British residents were at one moment very near the scene of war. After remarking that the beach was better at Boulogne than at Calais, and that there was a delightful walk of several miles on firm sands, Mrs. King adds :

When the tide was down, we walked frequently on the spot where the gun-boats were moored which Nelson attacked.

A note is appended stating that

The boats were fastened together with anchors, and chains, which resisted the attacks of our brave tars.

Mr. King had one grievance, besides the prohibition of newspapers; ¹ both at Calais and Boulogne 1*l.* 5*s.* was deducted for exchange from every 20*l.* circular note. In Paris he was let off for half that amount, and the banker expressed his surprise at the high rate charged elsewhere.

After staying nearly a fortnight at Boulogne the travellers proceeded in a hired English chariot with two horses by Montreuil to Abbeville. The situation of Montreuil and the great church of Abbeville are mentioned with admiration, and the vivacity of the driver enhanced their amusement on the journey.

Our coachman was a true Frenchman; for, having set his horses going (and the French horses require very little driving), he secured the reins, turned himself round upon the box, presented himself in front of us, and began a long conversation.

‘Il fait beau temps, monsieur, beau temps pour le voyage; Monsieur et madame, j’espère que vous serez contents de moi; tout-le-monde est content de moi. Je ferai mon possible pour vous plaire, et je suis sûr que je serai content de vous. Ah! monsieur, avez-vous jamais eu une Révolution dans votre pays? La Révolution est une mauvaise, une vilaine chose. Ah! que c’est vilain!’ He then proceeded to give us a long history of himself; how he had served in the Sans Culottes army, totally against his inclination, and with the sword at his throat, as most of them did,—the hardships he had endured, the cruelties he had experienced and witnessed, and how much they all rejoiced in a peace, which had released them from a service they so much detested. ‘But,’ said he, ‘things are not as they were.’ ‘Ah, monsieur, la Révolution a fait beaucoup de mal.’

The appearance of prosperity seems to have gradually vanished after our travellers left the sea coast.

On advancing into the interior we found the inns in general very dirty, and the accommodation extremely bad. The prices of the best hotels were reasonable; but if chance or necessity drove us into a second-rate inn, and we ordered a dish of coffee, or any other refreshment, without a previous bargain, the charge amounted almost to robbery. We were always obliged to bargain for everything we ordered, which without this precaution was generally trebled.

¹ MS. Letter to Scrope Bernard.

Mrs. King remarks on the inconsistency of this rapacious conduct with the honesty for which the people were still as conspicuous in other respects as in the flourishing towns by the sea. It was, however, not unnatural that the French, and especially the lower orders, should consider the foreigners with whom they had so recently been at war fair game, for to these foes they doubtless attributed some of their troubles. And the distress in this part of the country seems to have been such as to excuse much extortion. Mrs. King writes that the sight of the people gave her pain :

At Abbeville and other towns we were surrounded, immediately on our alighting, by an army of wretched creatures, whose appearance was scarcely human; and nothing could satisfy their clamours, though we distributed among them plenty of the small French money; they followed us through the streets with the most distressing noises and lamentations; for there is no parochial provision for the poor, but they depend entirely on casual charity; and at Abbeville and Amiens, two large manufacturing towns, two thousand people had occupation before the Revolution, and now there are only four hundred employed. The situation of the remainder, without employment or resources, must produce a degree of misery, of which the English labourer can have no notion.

It has been shown in a previous chapter how the poor of Montreuil were assisted by a voluntary subscription of the well-to-do inhabitants. The Revolution, however, must have grievously affected such supplies. The landed proprietors of the old time and the religious orders were themselves destitute, and often in exile; the manufacturers also, deprived of their trade, could no longer help those who had worked for them in better times, even to ward off sickness and starvation.

At Amiens the travellers parted amicably with their loquacious guide: they were tempted by the offer of sharing a carriage to Paris with a French couple. It is curious that Mrs. King merely notices the city of Amiens as 'a large and not unpleasant place, with some good inns.' Apparently their new arrangement, and their anxiety to reach Paris by a certain date, prevented them from spending more than a

night there; but even if they had not time to see the cathedral, it might have been supposed that some expression of regret for their loss would have been found in the Journal, since Mrs. King had admired the less remarkable church at Abbeville. This is not the case; and I can only attribute the omission to the low estimation of Gothic architecture which then prevailed. The travellers were not aware how much they had missed—possibly, indeed, Mr. King had seen the magnificent building on his previous visit to France, and had not been greatly struck. Moreover, there are in all likelihood many English tourists of the present day who have gone frequently to Paris without ever stopping at Amiens; the omission is not, therefore, so striking as it at first appears. To continue the narrative :

We left Amiens at five in the morning, and breakfasted at Breteuil, a small town, prettily situated. . . . We saw here an excellent house, which had been part of a Benedictine Abbey; it had been modernized, and repaired in a style fit for a nobleman. This house was offered to us for forty pounds a year, with a garden of two acres, in which was at that time a profusion of the finest fruit.

Farther on the travellers had another offer of house-room :

I have seldom seen anything so beautiful as the situation of Clermont, about forty miles from Paris; the country round it is extremely fine, and the town stands near the top of a steep hill, in the middle of a wood; there is a walk on the skirts of the town from which the view is enchanting, and in the finest part of this walk stands a formerly magnificent chateau, belonging to the Prince of Condé; we were much struck with the situation, and had the curiosity to request to see it; we were very politely received by a French gentleman and lady who lived there; they showed us the gardens and castle; part of it has been taken down, and from its forlorn, dirty, and neglected state, it was truly the ghost of its former grandeur.

We talked of taking a house for a few months in the neighbourhood of Paris, and this lady offered us the first floor of the castle, consisting of a saloon sixty feet long, a drawingroom, *salle-à-manger* or diningroom, two bedchambers, a kitchen, and servants' apartments, for twenty pounds a year,—cheap enough this for a palace !

In the hope of reaching Paris in time for 'the fête of the 23rd of September, the first day of their year,' and also with a view of avoiding the great heat, the party left Clermont in the middle of the night, although well aware that they were thus missing some charming scenery. 'We passed through Chantilly about six in the morning, and had light enough to see and admire its fine romantic situation, not inferior to Clermont, but in a very different style.' Glimpses of its beauties may, indeed, still be caught from the train by tourists, who are not inclined for a nearer view, as they rush through its forest. The rest of the road—the long straight avenue of trees laden with fruit, mostly apples, 'in which, both ways, we could see a distance of several miles, and frequently with a termination at each end of some pretty house, château, church, or village'—had all the attractions of novelty. Then 'the country was spread with vineyards which enclosed the road on each side and were at that time full of clusters of the finest grapes.' And the pleasure culminated in the entry into Paris by a long suburb of striking appearance, and then—so much have the limits of Paris altered—through the fine old Porte St. Denis.¹

Our *compagnons de voyage*, whom we found very sensible, worthy people, were of great use to us on our arrival, and Monsieur very soon procured us a most delightful lodging on the banks of the Seine, immediately opposite Pont Royal, where we had a most beautiful view of the river, the quays, the whole length of the immense Louvre gallery, and the palace and gardens of the Thuilleries [*sic*]. Immediately to the right we had the view of Pont Neuf and the town beyond it; to the left Pont Concord and the Elysian Fields, and just in front, rising above the Thuillery [*sic*] Gardens, was that beautiful little hill called Montmartre, capped with a little picturesque village and several windmills. A more pleasing situation the town could not have produced.

This charming residence had been the hotel of the Marquis de Neuilly, who was then living in lodgings in the capital. The French gentleman who had found it for the travellers was 'an ancient magistrate of Montpelier

¹ Mrs. King calls it 'Pont St. Denis,' which must be a mistake or misprint.

before the Revolution, and a particular friend of the Third Consul, who has treated him with *Republican* friendship.'

The Third Consul was Lebrun, described by Madame de Staël¹ as a man of highly cultivated and polite manners, but trained under the Chancellor and Minister Maupeou to ideas of arbitrary government. He served Napoleon as an agent to win over the Royalists by holding out the prospect of monarchical institutions under a new dynasty.

Mr. and Mrs. King did not give themselves many minutes' repose in their new home. They can scarcely have had more than time to inspect it and snatch a hasty meal, when they were again on the move, sight-seeing, as the following extract from the Journal shows :

We reached Paris too late for the morning rejoicings, but the most superb entertainment which the imagination could picture awaited us in the evening. . . . We proceeded about seven in the evening to the Thuillery [*sic*] Gardens, to a grand fête in honour of the commencement of the 11th year of their Republic ; it was an illumination, concert, and fireworks, and no idea can be formed of its splendour and magnificence, without some previous knowledge of the gardens, the palace, and the various beautiful buildings by which it is surrounded.

The writer then proceeds to describe the immense pile of palatial edifices formed by the Tuileries and the Louvre, the long garden walk from the Tuileries to the Place Louis XV., which must then have been known officially as the Place de la Révolution—all illuminated with countless lamps, lighting up statues, fountains, and trees, as well as buildings, and disposed with every attention to scenic effect ; while outside the pavilion of the palace a band played for two hours,

during which time Bonaparte and his lady appeared in the balcony. . . . It seemed like enchantment, and I fancied the Arabian Nights' Entertainments realized. At nine o'clock notice was given for the fireworks, which equally surpassed all description. The Consul does not regard expense in entertaining the public, for the public pays for it ; and I was told the expense and

¹ Madame de Staël, *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, 'Quatrième Partie, ch. iv., 'Des progrès du pouvoir absolu de Bonaparte.'

time bestowed on these fireworks exceeded everything that had been before devoted to the same object.

Then follows a description of the wonderful fan of fire which terminated this grand fête, marvellous in size and complexity. Its evolutions lasted about a quarter of an hour.

When it is known that to such an entertainment all are admitted gratis, and every one without distinction of rank, age, dress, or appearance, it will be supposed that the crowd was immense; indeed even in that extensive garden it was at times difficult to move. Bonaparte, to amuse the multitude, orders these superb entertainments three or four times a year, and they are supposed to cost the nation five or six thousand pounds each.

Perhaps it would not have been surprising if Mrs. King had been so completely carried away by the fascinations of the evening in which she was first introduced to Parisian life as to forget the terrible scenes which, but a few years before, had shocked the whole civilised world. But if she forgot them it was only for a moment. A note, even in the original manuscript Journal, alludes to the horrors of which the great Place with numerous names—Louis XV., la Révolution, &c. (now Place de la Concorde)—had been the theatre. There Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, Madame Elizabeth, and other victims had resigned their lives; for many months it had been the headquarters of the guillotine.

The travellers seem to have arrived at the conclusion that the First Consul was even more lavish of the people's money for his own special gratification than for theirs. She says:

The Thuilleries [*sic*] and St Cloud, his two residences, have undergone a thorough repair and complete beautifying, and every part of Europe has been searched for the finest and most expensive articles of furniture to refit them; for what was considered sufficient for the magnificence of the Grand Monarch is by no means equal to Citizen Bonaparte's ideas.

Soon after their arrival in Paris the travellers made an excursion to St. Cloud by the Seine, which is minutely described in glowing colours. On that occasion they were

not able to visit the interior of the palace, but spent the day amongst the grand old trees in its gardens. At a later period they succeeded in gaining admission to the building, of which Mrs. King writes :

St. Cloud is a wonder of magnificence. Forty of the best pictures from the Florence Gallery have been carried thither without being exhibited in the Gallery at the Louvre, a circumstance that has given great offence to the Parisians.

The Tuileries—which were seldom inhabited by the Consul, except in winter—they had no difficulty in seeing at once. Its second story, on which the unfortunate Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had resided, was as stately as tapestry and statues could make it :

But the magnificence of these apartments is far excelled by the elegance and splendour of the first floor, which is lately fitted up under the direction of Madame Bonaparte.

There is a monotony in the descriptions of the several rooms which palls on the eye or ear ; everywhere mirrors and gilding, magnificent hangings with gold fringe and delicate lace in abundance, articles of *vertu* and *bijouterie* beyond price, and marvellous lustres glowing with prismatic colours to illuminate these treasures by night. The principal bedroom was hung all round with blue silk, and amidst the drapery appeared a series of choice pictures. Wherever it could be placed Sèvres china added to the brilliancy of the apartment, and these treasures were reflected by ‘three superb looking-glasses.’ In the centre hung ‘a crystal lustre which cost ten thousand pounds.’ It had been brought from Versailles to add to the glories of the *parvenu* ruler’s bedroom.

The splendour of the palaces formed a barbaric contrast to the squalor of the streets. We read :

The streets of Paris, in general, are narrow, dirty, and wretched for walking ; a gutter of dirty water runs in the middle, which from the perpetual passing of carriages and horses, keeps the streets constantly wet, and from their narrowness and the height of the houses (some of them eight stories) excluding the sun and

air, the streets are more wet and dirty in the middle of summer, than any of ours are in the middle of winter.

In a note to this passage the writer adds :

A gentleman told me that for three days together during the Revolution, he saw these gutters running with human blood.

Another reminiscence of the recent convulsion is given as follows :

In one of our drives round the town, we stopped and alighted at the spot where formerly stood the Bastile ; it is now converted into a timber-yard, and no traces of the building remain but a few yards of the wall—some of the dungeons underground—a narrow strip built of stone, that will just admit the human body to lie at length but not to stand upright, but totally excludes all light ; it was left to perpetuate a remarkable story.—A man was found in this very dungeon who had been confined there upwards of thirty years, without light or the smallest communication with any human being but one man, who once a day brought him food. Our valet de place saw this man on his being released, and told us—he was scarcely human ; his intellect seemed nearly gone ; his beard hung down to his stomach ; his nails were like claws ; and his limbs wasted to mere bones ; he showed very little pleasure on being released, and died a few days after ;—it is supposed from being too suddenly exposed to light, air, and exercise, after so long a confinement.

But there was much more in Paris than these painful contrasts. The Louvre, adjoining the Tuileries, was probably more of a picture gallery even then than a state residence. It contained inestimable treasures, but, to a great extent, the plunder of other countries. The Palais Royal, of revolutionary celebrity, bore another character ; it is described as :

formerly the residence of the Duke of Orleans, but now converted into a most extraordinary scene of vice and dissipation ; it is a world of itself, and as wicked a world as any in existence ; many of the inhabitants never stir beyond the gates : for within they have everything they can want, eating, drinking, and lodging, in the highest style, elegant shops for every sort of article, every kind of amusement and dissipation, and every species of folly and extravagance.

The Luxemburg Palace was occupied by the Senate.

At some little distance from Paris, as already noted, was the 'Hameau de Chantilly, a *ci-devant* palace of the Prince of Condé,' turned into a public garden and place of amusement. To this and to Frascati, the population of Paris, or the thoughtless portion of it, flocked to forget its troubles. Similar resorts were found about the capital in the Pavilion de Hanovre, Tivoli, and Marbœuf; but these three Mr. and Mrs. King saw by daylight only, and in a deserted condition, apparently because they would not confront the evening scene of reckless gaiety.

With the theatres in general Mrs. King was disappointed, but she admits that the Opera House, the Théâtre Feydeau, and the Comédie Française were elegant and brilliant. Of the performances she says nothing, only remarking that they were thinly attended, except in the pit and gallery, and that there was less impropriety in the ladies' dresses than she expected. 'I thought I saw less of it than I have seen in England; the most indecently dressed ladies I saw in Paris were not French ones.'

There were, however, many objects of interest in Paris of a more serious kind, which the travellers did not fail to visit. Such were the Hôtel des Invalides and École Militaire, the 'Garden of Plants'—an exhaustive institution for the study of natural history in all branches—the National Library, which was also a museum, and of which Mrs. King admiringly remarks that it was free and open to the public, as the British Museum then was not; they were introduced to the librarian and spent several mornings there. The Gobelin Tapestry, the Plate-glass Manufactory, and the Stereotype Printing Offices also are all described at more or less length. But the charitable institutions of the French capital claimed a special measure of time and attention, and all the more because France was at that time ahead of England in the treatment of many forms of privation and suffering. In the next chapter will be found some details of Mrs. King's visits to certain of these establishments.

In her remarks on the churches, which may here be

noticed as architectural monuments, since they were, of course, chiefly viewed in that light by the English tourists, Mrs. King displays her preference for the Grecian, or pseudo-Grecian style then in vogue. Notre-Dame receives a certain meed of admiration as a specimen of Gothic, but having suffered terribly in the Revolution it may not have looked at its best to inexperienced eyes ; and the writer continues :

St. Sulpice appeared to us to surpass every other church in Paris in beauty and magnificence ; it is a very fine Grecian building, the approach to it very majestic and noble.

St. Roch is also admired in its degree as ‘ a very fine piece of Grecian work.’

CHAPTER XXI

FANNY KING'S TOUR IN FRANCE (*continued*)

The Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés in Paris—The Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul—The Salpêtrière—The 'Sourds-Muets'—L'Abbé Sicard—Improvement in Mrs. King's Health—Parisian Social Life—The Duc de Liancourt—Mme. Récamier—The First Consul—Sharp Practices of Innkeepers—The Outbreak of War—Departure from Paris—Rouen—Head-dress at Dieppe—A Storm at Sea.

FROM the connection of Thomas Bernard with the Foundling Hospital in London, and Mrs. King's own knowledge of nursing, it is not surprising to find her writing of the 'Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés' in Paris as an institution which 'interested me more than anything else.' She adds:

I was grieved to find it not in a thriving state;—the subscriptions falling far short of the expenses,—and wanting the great support of all charities, an important and consequential eye over it; the late Queen, to the honour of her humanity, paid great attention to this hospital, and in her time it has contained three thousand infants at once; the number now is very trifling, and many of those, when I saw them, were not doing well . . . Nothing can equal the exquisite cleanliness of the children, the cradles, and the whole house; but though cleanliness is a part, it is not the whole of what infants require. There was a want of that comfort, and *warmth*, which is necessary for the support of infants; and it appears to me an essential thing that the matron of such an establishment ought to have been all her life used to infants, and have had children of her own; but the Matron of this Hospital is a nun of the Order of St. Vincent.

In this passage Mrs. King reflects the prevailing English idea. There are defects and difficulties in all human arrangements, but experience hardly shows that wives or widows with distinct interests of their own, who in many cases give themselves to the work only till something better

turns up, are necessarily superior as nurses and guardians of deserted infants to religious Sisters, who devote their whole lives to the care of the helpless, and, in the great majority of cases, are carefully trained from their youth upwards. The records of the London and Dublin Foundling Hospitals, of English workhouses, poorhouses, and other charitable institutions in the British Isles, might have suggested this thought; but we seldom see our own faults as keenly as those of our neighbours. The alleged want of comfort and warmth, whether in a literal or figurative sense, may perhaps be attributed partly to the difference between English and French ideas of household management; partly also to the slender resources and inadequate numbers of the Sisters. Persecuted and suppressed by the Republicans, it was only in the previous year, 1801, that they had obtained from the First Consul permission to exist, and to train girls for the service of the hospitals.

The Superioress, Sister Duleau, who had joined the Order or Congregation at the age of nineteen, and was sixty when the Revolution broke out, succeeded in tiding over a time of fierce trial with great tact and courage. Some of the Sisters' good works were still carried on by stealth, and when, previous to Sister Duleau's death, not long after Mrs. King's visit, the Order obtained a partial recognition from the State, their ranks were being rapidly filled, and they had charge of two hundred and fifty institutions. But the difficulty, if not impossibility, of admitting new members in France during the political storms had no doubt divided the Sisters into two categories, the old and the young, with few connecting links in age and training.

Mrs. King continues: 'The Foundling children have frequently changed their residence, and the last place to which they were consigned since the Revolution is the Convent of St. Vincent.' Strictly speaking the Sisters, or Daughters, of Charity (*Filles de la Charité*), founded by St. Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac,¹ widow of Antoine

¹ She always signed her name 'de Marillac,' according to the custom of the time.

le Gras, are not nuns, and their houses are not convents ; but this distinction was little known in England and is not much observed in France at the present day. The house which Mrs. King visited was evidently not the head house, or 'Maison Mère,' even of the actual provisional arrangement ; but she does not mention the name of the Sister in charge, nor the street in which the house was situated.

In this Convent (the narrative continues) there was an establishment for fifty *Réligieuses*, and at the time of general devastation, and the rage for abolishing everything sacred, this convent was attacked by the Revolutionists, and the poor affrighted Sisters were forced to fly for their lives,—all but one, who calmly stood her ground. She awaited the arrival of these wretches in her own apartment, produced her property, and offered it to them, but assured them that if they destroyed the convent she would perish with it, for nothing should induce her to quit it. They were so struck with her conduct that they left her in the quiet possession of the convent and her own property.—Soon after, the *Enfants Trouvés* were removed there, and she begged to become the matron of these destitute children. She told me she had drawn all her comfort and happiness from her attention to her children and the sweet applauses of her conscience, that she had never deserted her God or her Founder. 'There he is,' said she to me, pointing to a picture of St. Vincent over her chimney-piece ; 'there he is, dear Saint, and I will die as I have lived, by his side.' She adheres religiously to all her vows, has made very little alteration in her dress, and has never stirred beyond the walls of the convent.

The Sisters of Charity are not cloistered, but this Sister had no external work, and probably feared to attract attention to her more than semi-religious costume. It was not until 1805 that these Sisters and others dared to appear in the uniforms of their Orders.

Mrs. King concludes by observing :

I was extremely struck with her manners and appearance and the beautiful cleanliness of her apartments ; everything under her direction was really envious, and I was happy to accept her invitation to make her another visit.

Of the French hospitals the traveller remarked that

they were generally on a larger scale than in England. Her special attention was, however, concentrated on the Sal-pétrière, a comprehensive institution, which had no parallel in London.' She describes it as 'an immense establishment, being the general dépôt for all the poor women (and women only) in Paris'; and continues:

At one period it contained 9,000 poor, though it does not in general contain more than 6,000. From its extent, I was surprised to find it so well conducted; it is quite a little insulated town, consisting of a number of little courts, squares, & gardens, one with another, all dedicated to different purposes. The first court, which is as large as the first quadrangle at Christ Church, in Oxford, is dedicated to all those that are in perfect health, and able to earn their own livelihood: a variety of manufactures are carried on here, & the healthy & industrious earn more than their own maintenance. The second is for those who are sickly, but yet do something; & the third for the old & infirm, and if any of them can earn a trifle, they are allowed to spend it on their extra comforts. The fourth Court is the Infirmary, where the sick are extremely well taken care of, & the fifth building—which is not a square but a cluster of buildings,—is for the insane, which is an establishment of itself; and there are different ranges of building, for different states of insanity, with each their own garden, offices, and appendages, & the different classes of patients can never associate or see each other. The incurables are in the farthest building, and they are arranged in succession, according to their degrees of amendment, and in the outer building are placed those who are nearly recovered, and soon to be dismissed. None of the merely nervous and quiet patients are disturbed by the noise and disorder of the rest, and no one is ever admitted into the interior of the building; but from the accounts I received, it appears to be extremely well managed.

This range of buildings occupies more ground than our Bedlam, and the whole establishment I should think as much, if not more than the Tower. The whole had an appearance of order and quietness I could scarcely have believed attainable on so large a scale; the ground floor contains the dining-rooms and kitchens, the first floor the work rooms, and the second the sleeping galleries; very long rooms with beds ranged on each side. Every woman has a separate bed, a box for clothes, and chair to sit on, which she takes care of herself, and is also appointed to attend on some one of the old and infirm.

Mrs. King, indeed, thought that the bedrooms were not as clean as was desirable, especially amongst the last-named class—the old and infirm; the other rooms were well kept. The Salpêtrière was not then a place of detention. Any woman could be admitted on application, and on entering was immediately set to some work for which she appeared to be fitted, and turned out if she proved hopelessly idle.

Many pages of the narrative are devoted to an account of the public exercises at the ‘Sourds-Muets,’ the deaf and dumb institute of Paris, which had then no parallel in England, and naturally attracted the notice of foreigners. The Abbé de l’Épée appears to have been the first person who brought the various ideas entertained in divers countries on the treatment of the deaf and dumb to a practical result—at least on a large scale. The movement might be called from the first a clerical enterprise. On the death of the good Abbé, in 1789, the four persons proposed to succeed him were all in Holy Orders. Of these the Abbé Sicard¹ was chosen. He had in former years been sent by the Archbishop of Bordeaux to Paris to learn the Abbé de l’Épée’s system, with a view to the establishment of an institution for the deaf and dumb at Bordeaux, and over this he had presided till he was called to Paris as the successor of his teacher.

It was a critical time, and Sicard was imprisoned in 1792, and narrowly escaped death on September 4. During the ascendancy of Robespierre he was not molested, but, in 1796, as editor of the ‘*Annales Catholiques*,’ he was sent out of the country. Since his return, the Abbé’s life had been devoted to his pupils, who had fared very badly during his absence, and he had developed the method of his predecessor so remarkably as to ‘introduce these unfortunates into the field of metaphysics.’

We attended the day of their public exhibition to strangers, and were shown into a large semi-circular room, which contained three or four hundred people; on an elevated stage at the end,

¹ *Biographie Universelle*, ‘Sicard (Roch-Ambroise Cucurron)’ (Durozoir).

the Abbé Sicard delivered a lecture of four hours long, surrounded by his pupils, as illustrations of his plans, the girls seated on one side of him, the boys on the other, all in uniform.

The first part of his lecture was on his mode of teaching the letters and grammar to his pupils; the great merit of his grammar was, that it was made perfectly simple and easy of comprehension, and the verbs all included in one conjugation. He paid many compliments to the English language, which he understood, and said it was much more simple and comprehensive than any other. We took particular notice of a young man about twenty years of age, who stood close to him during the whole exhibition, with such a pleasing intelligence and sprightliness in his look, so unlike the languid and inanimate countenance of the Deaf and Dumb, we could hardly be persuaded he laboured under that misfortune; his name was Jean Massieu, and he was the oldest pupil in the institution, and from an uncommon genius and application had attained a degree of knowledge scarcely credible under his circumstances. He had acquired three languages grammatically, Italian, French, and English; understood arithmetic, mathematics, and geography, &c., and is the Abbé's principal assistant in instructing the children, and illustrating his lectures on the public days.

Massieu was indeed a living witness to the Abbé's wonderful power. Next to him came Clerc and Berthier; but they perhaps belong to a somewhat later period—at least, Mrs. King does not mention them by name as eminent scholars. Her minute description of the *séance* testifies to the deep interest awakened in her by this new work.

Sicard¹ was neglected and even rebuffed by Napoleon; but he and his institution, which Louis XVI. had favoured, enjoyed a return of good fortune on the restoration of royalty under Louis XVIII.

The change of air and scene appear to have proved as beneficial as the travellers could have desired. On November 21, Mr. King writes² to Scrope Bernard:

I am glad to inform you that Fanny continues to improve in health; we shall therefore continue here some time, and we are

¹ *Biographie Universelle*, 'Sicard' (Durozoir).

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon,

glad to find that we can live here, with every reasonable comfort, at a very moderate expense. . . .

I should be much obliged if you could get me a letter of introduction to our Ambassador, as I understand it would be proper for me to be known to him. Though Fanny is getting better, she is not yet quite stout enough to wish to partake of the gay parties of Madame Talleyrand and Madame Récamier and other ladies of that quality, among whom I heard that Mr. Fox spent most of his time when in Paris,—as we keep out of these circles of dissipation, of course our expenses keep within reasonable compass.

There is a great nuisance just published here under the title of the 'Argus,' an English newspaper; and as it is the only English one published here, all the English will buy it, though it is the most base and infamous publication that ever disgraced the press; the malice against Mr. Pitt and the late administration is beyond all endurance. What a pity some able and respectable men, who understand how to conduct a paper, will not set up a paper in opposition to it; the Government here would permit any paper to be published here, if the editor would be careful to make no remarks on the Government.¹

The Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, played a conspicuous part in the history of the time at this period of agitation, when the treaty just concluded between France and England was in continual jeopardy. Respecting the tone and composition of Parisian social life Mrs. King remarks:

Previous to the Revolution, society consisted of only two classes, the Noblesse and the Bourgeoisie; there was no middle station; lately a third class is added, called the Nouveaux Riches, who having risen as contractors, or by the plunder of the Revolution, are people of no family, no education, and no morality. The splendour of the ancient Noblesse is done away; the few of them that remain being,—some deprived of all,—and others of great part of their property,—are living in perfect retirement, and with the most rigid economy. Many of the grand Hotels, formerly belonging to the first nobility, have been purchased by the Bourgeoisie for a trifling sum, and are now converted into lodging-houses or taverns; one of them we removed to near the Luxemburg, and had a most magnificent suite of apartments, with furniture, pictures, statues, and ornaments in a style of elegance beyond the rent. Several of the noblemen to whom these

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon,

mansions belonged are now living in mere garrets on an income barely sufficient for the necessaries of life.

Mr. King became acquainted with the old Duc de Liancourt, and his son the Duc de Rochefoucault, from the wreck of whose princely fortune a larger sum remained than the generality had been able to retain. About 1,500 a year remained to the Duke from an estate in the country,—the beautiful village of Liancourt which he farmed; his magnificent château was all destroyed except the library, and he lived in one end of his stables, in the apartments that were formerly the residence of his Master of the Horse.

In a note Mrs. King adds that

his best farm was the site of the Home Park, about 300 acres round the château. Arthur Young laid it out for him, and an Englishman now manages it.

The ancient nobility [she continues] keep up very little intercourse with the present Government, nor with the Nouveaux Riches; the latter seem to confine themselves entirely to the society of each other, and that of the fashionable English who visit Paris, and their vanity, folly, and extravagance is beyond belief. Of the improper dress and manners of one of them, the English have had a specimen in Madame R——, who certainly received much more notice, civility, and attention, in England than she ever met with in Paris. She is more talked of than approved, and many ridiculous stories were related of her. Her house, though it is not large, is one of the raree shows of Paris, and is fitted in a style of splendour, and elegance, and expense, scarcely exceeded by the Thuilleries [*sic*]. One anecdote was related of her, which equally proved her folly and vanity.

Her husband is a banker, and a plain money-getting man, many years older than herself, and, though by no means approving of her extravagance, endures what he cannot cure without a breach of the peace. Monsieur found his lady one morning in tears, and on enquiring the cause of her distress, was told that she had been at a party the evening before, where she had seen jewels finer than her own; and as she was the leader of taste, elegance, and expense in Paris, this was a grievance not to be submitted to. The husband enquired what sum would be sufficient to remove this cause of distress; she informed him she had seen some jewels in the Palais Royal that would make her set complete for the trifling sum of 1,000*l*. The husband demurred, and declared he could only spend 500*l*.; fresh distress ensued, and fresh tears

flowed on this declaration, and the remainder of the morning would have been abandoned to lamentation, but for the accidental visit of an English nobleman, then in a distinguished situation in Paris. Having learnt the cause of her distress, he entered into a plan with her to remove it; he offered her the loan of 500*l.*, which she was to pay at her convenience from her pin-money, and it was settled that she was previously to pay the 500*l.* to the jeweller in question, giving him a little item that Monsieur her husband would call respecting the jewels, and that he was, as a great favour, to sell them to him for half the sum originally mentioned.

Having so far proceeded in the business, the lady, with great apparent thankfulness, accepted her husband's offer of the 500*l.*, and after complimenting him on his skill in making a bargain, requested him to go to the jeweller, and get the whole set, if he could, for the sum. The good man proceeded on his errand, and, after a little debate with the jeweller, was surprised to find himself in possession of jewels which were valued at 1,000*l.*, for half the sum. It occurred to him that the whole must be an imposition, and therefore, before he proceeded home with his bargain, he went to another jeweller to ascertain their intrinsic value; the jeweller pronounced them very fine diamonds, and valued them at 1,200*l.* A thought immediately came across the prudent banker, that by disposing of these jewels he might put some hundred pounds in his pocket, and he asked the jeweller if he would give him 1,200*l.* for them. The jeweller demurred at the sum, because he must make his profit, but said he should be very glad to pay him 900*l.* on the board. The banker agreed to the proposal and went home delighted with having made 400*l.* of his morning's business. The lady sat at home, eagerly expecting her jewels; and the history being unfolded, a fainting fit, hysterics, and a sad scene of distress, discovered the secret to the astonished husband.

This story was the laugh of Paris for some days, and all agreed that the lady's childishness and vanity had met with its due reward.

It requires no great ingenuity to identify Madame R—— as the much-lauded Madame Récamier, especially after reading Mr. King's letter, recently quoted. Considering also the passion for show which prevailed, and still prevails, in fashionable circles throughout the civilised world, it is not surprising to find a second story current of a somewhat similar type, but even more damaging. It is thus told by Mrs. King, of a greater lady:

Another anecdote on the subject of jewels had been talked of in Paris, which did no credit to the first lady there.

The wife of an Irish nobleman, who had resided some years in France in embarrassed circumstances, was induced to part with her diamonds, on understanding that Madame Bonaparte wished to purchase them; previous to offering them to her she sent them to a lapidary to value, which valuation signed by him was sent with the jewels to the Thuilleries [*sic*], and a request that the money for them might be either sent by the messenger, or the jewels returned. The messenger however was dismissed empty handed, without either money or jewels. A few days after, the lady dispatched the same messenger again, with the same request, who was again told there was no answer.

Various other means were tried to procure Madame's attention to settling this account, but all in vain; Madame would not acknowledge the receipt of the jewels, or that any such debt existed. The lady, after two years' suspense, was advised by a friend to put a memorial on the subject into the hands of the First Consul, and to find an opportunity of delivering it personally. She contrived to place herself in the track through which he passed on the day of the Grand Parade, and put into his hands a paper stating the circumstances. The next morning the Consul's aide-de-camp waited on the lady with the money, making many apologies for a transaction, of which on his wife's account he was extremely ashamed.

So far, so good, as regarded Napoleon; but the writer proceeds to say:

It is a pity that the Consul is not as ready to repair his own acts of injustice as his wife's; his passion, violence, and tyranny furnished us with many curious anecdotes, and Madame's fine Sèvres china was sometimes the victim of some political or domestic vexation.

We were told that on the evening the news of the Emperor Paul's death arrived, who was his dear friend and ally, Madame Bonaparte had an assembly, which the Consul *honoured* with his presence; he was unfortunately sitting with his feet under a table of some very fine Sèvres tea-china when the despatches were put into his hands, announcing this event, which proved such a check at that time to his further schemes of ambition and plunder. The agitation of the moment overcame all idea of dignity and decorum; he threw up his feet, overturned his table, threw a dish of coffee out of his hand into the fire; dashed down a pair of wax candles

that stood in his way, and flew out of the room in a state bordering on insanity.

Such is the great man, at whom half Europe has trembled, and whom England alone has set at defiance.

Madame de Staël says that the Emperor Paul had looked on the Consul with the same enthusiasm that his father felt for Frederick the Great; that the mingled violence and weakness of his character had rendered him an easy dupe; and he had abandoned Austria because Napoleon assured him that the alliance of the East and West—that is, of Russia and France—would ensure the permanent pacification of Europe.¹ She adds:

Bonaparte was much alarmed by the death of Paul I., and it is said that at this news the first ‘Ah, mon Dieu’ ever heard from his mouth escaped him. He might however have been tranquil; for the French were then more disposed than the Russians to endure tyranny.²

It must have been from the first pretty well known or believed that the death of the Russian sovereign had been brought about by violence. This was enough to excite and alarm another and a newer despot.

Mrs. King, while commenting on the arbitrary rule of Bonaparte, indeed, remarks as a singular fact that the First Consul’s system of tyranny was to some extent redeemed by the excellence of his police arrangements, which were so perfect that not only were murder and robbery in the streets unheard of, but no drunken or disorderly persons were ever to be met, and anyone might walk about in safety at any hour. Pilfering and cheating were, indeed, practised; but ‘Justice is well administered, and at little trouble and no expense.’ This explains how a nation, tired of violence and anarchy, was content to receive the yoke of Napoleon. The writer then relates a small experience of her own:

A watchmaker had received my watch to put a glass into it, and though I told him the watch wanted nothing but a glass, I

¹ Madame de Staël, *Dix Années d’Exil*.

² *Ibid.*

neglected to make my bargain ; and after keeping the watch three weeks he brought it home with an unreasonable charge for sundry jobs. Mr. King refused to pay for it unless the charge was sanctioned by a Court of Justice. On this we were served with a notice to appear before the Juge de Paix,—the Justice of Peace of the Department. This seemed a formidable business for such a trifle, and, thinking that as a foreigner I could have no chance, I was for settling the matter ; but our old friend the Avocat, mentioned before, and Mr. King, encouraged me to go through it, and I encountered a most formidable Court, very much like our Courts of Justice, with a large assemblage of people. I was summonsed by name to give my reasons why I refused to pay this sum ; and I told my story with tolerable composure, and in as intelligible French as I could, and our friend the Avocat, who stood at my elbow, illustrated the subject, and cut up the watch-maker, by some very shrewd observations, which made him feel very contemptible. It ended by my being required to take an oath, which is holding up the hand, and the Judge pronouncing : ‘ Since the glass only was ordered, the glass only must be paid for, one shilling.’

I am inclined to think that the impartial distribution of justice exists only at Paris, as I was told an anecdote of an English gentleman on his journey to Paris, which did not produce the same consequences. He was travelling with his wife and two children between Calais and Paris, and at a little village near Amiens his carriage broke down, which not being remediable that night, they were obliged to take up their lodging at a very indifferent inn, where their whole accommodation consisted of one room with only two beds in it ; and, on further investigation, this room turned out to be so damp from disuse that it was necessary to light a fire in it, and range the bedding before it, during which operation the gentleman and his family had no resource but to sit in the kitchen. During this process, from the unfortunate carelessness of the maid of the inn, the bedding was set on fire, and, before the conflagration was discovered, was almost entirely consumed, together with some articles of furniture ; and before the fire was extinguished the whole room had sustained considerable damage.

No resource now remained for this gentleman and his family but to sit in the kitchen the remainder of the night ; but their vexation from this cause did not end here ; for on departing in the morning, the landlord brought in a bill, charging the bedding, furniture, and every injury that the room had sustained, on the

plea that they had been burnt in his service. The demand was of course resisted, and application being made to the Mayor of the village, who happened to be an ignorant, low-minded man, the gentleman was ordered by him to pay the whole sum demanded. This demand was of necessity complied with, and no further redress could be had here; but on the gentleman's arrival at Paris, he stated the circumstance before the police, who immediately sent orders to dismiss the Mayor from his office, and oblige the landlord to refund the whole sum so obtained.

This story, indeed, shows that very summary justice could be obtained, even for a wrong done in a country district, merely by making it known in the capital. And it appears also that foreigners were not the only persons who suffered from the sharp practices of innkeepers, in 'exacting what may be termed fines. I was told they are equally levied on the French themselves, who are all obliged to be equally cautious in providing against them.'

We had now spent seven months in Paris, and the Spring was opening with a splendour of beauty I never saw equalled in any other climate; it certainly was not the time to quit a spot to which spring and summer gave so many additional beauties, and—my health being much improved,—we entertained serious thoughts of completing our year's residence there, when we were all electrified by the rumour of another war; the French were absolutely petrified by it, and it is impossible to describe the despair, astonishment, and regret, that seized every French inhabitant of Paris. Besides the horrors of war under which they had groaned so many years, they were immediately to lose, what had been such a profit and advantage to them during the short peace,—20,000 English who had resided in different parts of their territories, and had been spending amongst them 10 times as much money as an equal number of French; the poor Lodging-house keepers and *Traiteurs* seemed *au désespoir*; they had existed only from the English, and their harvest and hopes were blasted. Such were the feelings and the discontent of the people, that they were on the point of breaking out in open rebellion, but that they had no resource to look to; and a French gentleman told us, he was certain there was a period when, if the Duc d'Angoulême, who is a great favourite with the people, had appeared at Paris, the army and people would have instantly joined him.—Many expressions,

more openly discontented than any I had heard, escaped from several of the common people; and such was the anxiety that prevailed, that parties assembled in the streets to talk over and speculate on their chances of escape.

Dishonesty is ever more watchful and suspicious than virtue and honesty, and the wary Consul soon calculated the consequences of all this liberty of speech, and free communication; an edict was therefore issued from the Police, forbidding a word to be uttered on the subject of the war, or any questions to be asked or observations made on the subject of politics or public affairs of any kind; a prison, and severe punishment, was to be the consequence, and the spies of Government were sent forth into every part of the town and every company to detect delinquents. The poor French people were silenced in an instant by this edict, and not a syllable afterwards could be extracted from them; many who, but the day before, were speculating politicians, foreseeing and settling every event, now know nothing about it, and when asked their opinion how matters were going on, they shrugged their shoulders with a mournful look, saying, 'Je n'en sais rien.'

The poor French had no resource; with the English, flight was the order of the day, and the most judicious prepared immediately for their departure, and determined on no account to remain in France after the Ambassador quitted it. The few who were less cautious are amongst the numbers of English now detained in the French territories, and at the mercy of that Monster in iniquity the French Consul, or, properly speaking, the Corsican Usurper.—We quitted Paris on the 16th of April, a short time before the Ambassador, and, as we had come one road, we determined to go back by Dieppe, in order to see that beautiful country—Normandy.

The travellers' first move was 'through the Elysian Fields and a most delightful country' to St. Germain, where they spent two days (with great enjoyment) visiting the waterworks at Marly; from thence

We proceeded on our route to Dieppe, and to lessen the fatigue of the journey, we went 24 miles down the Seine in a house boat, and it was a most pleasant and easy mode of travelling, though not very expeditious, as we found the 24 miles nearly a day's work. The country was very fine, and the river Seine increased in beauty as we advanced. We landed about 6 o'clock in the evening at Rouboise; a pretty little village on the

banks of the Seine, where finding tolerable accommodations we stopped for the night. The next morning we proceeded in a carriage to Rouen, the capital of Normandy; the country increased in beauty and so exactly resembled some parts of England, I could have believed myself travelling in our own dear little delectable Island.

The writer further expatiates on the picturesque scenery of the Seine, till her admiration culminates in the view of its windings as they approached Rouen, with the still distant city in perspective. As seen from the summit of a hill :

In one point it extended to an immense basin, in which was a cluster to the number of 8 or 10 most beautiful little Islands, all richly planted in different styles, with different kinds of trees, forming gardens, shrubberies, and plantations, and little ornamental buildings on each; this with the sprinkling of pleasure boats, and other vessels, and with the fine and rich country, and forests of apple and cherry trees in full blow formed the finest view I ever recollect seeing.

At Rouen Mrs. King was evidently most struck by the bridge of boats, and next by the spacious boulevards. She mentions no church but the cathedral or 'old church of Notre Dame,' which she does admire, and describes as 'a wonderfully fine piece of Gothic architecture, superior to Notre Dame at Paris.' It is curious that St. Ouen should be passed over in silence. The 'Journal' continues :

We spent two days at Rouen, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe, where, finding the wind totally against our passage, we were under the necessity of sitting quietly down, and had plenty of time to make our observations on the place, and the people. The town is extensive and well built, superior to Calais, and the quay a very fine one; the language is very *patois*, and the dress laughably singular, different to anything we had seen. We were extremely diverted with the *Cauchois* cap, a style of head-dress worn by the Bourgeoises, and the best of the peasantry; it is a frame made of pasteboard, of immense height; about a hand's breadth; at the edge next the face, is covered with very fine gold and silver, embroidered or brocaded silk, and the commoner ones are silk with an edge of gold or silver lace; above this finery is pinned an immense muslin lappet, rising to a ridiculous height; some were at least half a yard from the ear to the top, and what

is very singular, this fashion has never been changed in any one's memory.—I bought one of these caps as a curiosity.

We had added to our party two English people we had met with in distress on the road, and were bringing them to England, and several gentlemen and ladies were waiting at Dieppe very impatient to sail; it was therefore determined on the third day that we should trust ourselves to the perverse winds and waves, which were both as unfavourable as possible.

We sailed about two o'clock in the afternoon, and from sickness, cold, and bad accommodations, spent a most wretched night; however we looked forward at daybreak to a release of our uncomfortable situation.—The first dawn of morning presented to us our dear native land, and the town of East Bourn, seemed so near to us, that we could with ease have rowed on shore; but no persuasions, entreaties, or bribes, could tempt our French Captain to put any of us on shore; we were bound for Brighton, and, as he was not the owner of the vessel, he had pledged himself not to land anywhere else unless absolute danger rendered it necessary, and it was a most tantalizing circumstance to us that we continued the whole day skirting the English shore, without any chance of landing before night set in. About six in the evening, no progress towards Brighton seemed to have been made, and a most tremendous storm came on, which so tossed our poor little packet that the captain requested all the passengers to retire to the cabin, and trust to him and his sailors to weather the storm.

After the passengers were all safely housed in the cabin, between 20 and 30 in a place not larger than a closet, the dead lights were put out, a lamp left burning in the cabin, and the captain very composedly locked us all in. Sick and ill as I was, suffering from cold, terror, and fatigue, the turning the key was a woeful crash upon my nerves, and we resigned ourselves to what we expected, the most terrible night I ever passed; the violent rocking of the ship, much too small for so heavy a sea, the noise and confusion on board, the cracking of every joint in the ship, which seemed bursting asunder with every motion, and the rolling of the luggage and heavy boxes in the cabin where we were, altogether formed a tremendous scene to us freshwater sailors; indeed I found afterwards from more experienced sailors that we were in great danger, and I must do our party the justice to say that though there were several women amongst us, not an expression of fear, or a murmur of impatience, escaped any one; the most perfect composure and resignation prevailed though I believe there was scarcely a hope of escaping left.

We had no communication with the Captain or the sailors till about 3 in the morning, when the vessel suddenly ceased its rocking, and the Captain entered and announced that we were safe in the Port of Newhaven; it was an electric sensation of joy to us all, and he congratulated us on having had a very narrow escape, not forgetting to comment on his own skill as a pilot.

We could not land however till daylight, nor till the Police Officers had been on board; at 6 o'clock this ceremony was accomplished, and I believe no wretched shipwrecked mariners ever set their feet on their native land with such joy as we did; the native country is dear to every one, and we added to our pleasure in returning to ours devout thankfulness for the Providential escape we had had.

The full extent of our danger we did not know till after our landing, for we there saw a monument to the memory of a Captain of a ship and 100 men who were lost a twelvemonth before in the very spot off Beachy Head where we lay beating about so many hours.—After breakfasting and resting a few hours we proceeded in chaises to Brighton, where English friends and English comforts awaited us, both rendered doubly dear by our absence from these invaluable blessings; yet our Tour had produced us much amusement, information, food for reflection, and insight into human nature; it had produced us all that we wished, and more than we expected, particularly a blessing I never expected to enjoy again, the restoration of my health, which had been the original object of our journey.

The situation of the travellers had been a source of anxiety to their relatives ever since rumours of the renewal of war had been afloat. Mrs. Smith writes,¹ from Melksham:

My Sister and Brother-in-law Mr and Mrs King, who had been 8 or 9 months in Paris, now returned precipitately, to the great joy of their friends, who feared their detention.

And no doubt they but narrowly escaped the fate of those whom Napoleon, against all the customs of civilized countries, detained as prisoners for many years.

The writer continues:

For more than a twelvemonth the kingdom was kept in a continued state of alarm by threats of invasion and repeated preparations for it; in Sep. 1804 a large number of gunboats were out from Boulogne, but soon drove back and crippled by our Fleet.

¹ MS. of which a copy is now at Nether Winchendon.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LADIES' COMMITTEE AND THE HOME AT KENSINGTON

Mrs. King's Memorials of her Tour in France—Anna Seward—Mr. and Mrs. King settle in Kensington—Thomas Bernard's Views on Women's Rights—Measures for Improving the Condition of Women—Work amongst the Poor at Clapham—Thomas Bernard's and Fanny King's joint Efforts on behalf of Women—Proposed Seminary for the Education of Daughters of Clergymen, &c.—The Mortlake Friendly Society for Women—Rev. T. F. Dibdin—Campden Hill in 1804—Dr. Gosset, Mr. Ormerod, and Mr. Willis—Mr. King's Anti-Bonapartist Feeling—Bishop Huntingford—'The Sunday Library.'

ON the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. King in England, it may be supposed that they were assailed with many questions about their French experiences, which were not then a hackneyed topic; and the catastrophe which so speedily followed—the renewal of war, and detention of peaceable English travellers, must have enhanced the value of Mrs. King's written memorials of her tour. In this manner, no doubt, the idea of publication was evolved. It appears that Mr. King endeavoured to prepare his wife's manuscript for publication. From her descendants I have received the gift of the first part, as originally written, except that whole passages are in some places marked for erasure or transposition, and a few marginal corrections added. Inside the cover is pinned a paper explaining its condition, which appears to be addressed to some persons who were to be favoured with a sight of the manuscript. It runs thus:

As an apology for producing this mutilated journal, it is necessary to say that the Bishop of Gloucester very much wishing it to be published, Mr King, in correcting it, reduced it to the state it is [in] without accomplishing his purpose.

Mrs King has had a correct and neat copy of it taken, and the subjects better arranged, which copy is now in Miss Seward's

possession, and has been the subject of her criticism. Mrs K. means to recover this copy again, and is sorry in the meantime not to have a better to produce than this, the original written at Paris.

The Miss Seward, to whose inspection Mrs. King's corrected copy had been submitted, was Anna Seward, well known at that period by her writings and social attractions,¹ also by her tender regard for the unfortunate Major André. She was born at Eyam, in Derbyshire, but I have no evidence that her acquaintance with Mrs. King had commenced there—that village was not in the immediate neighbourhood of Norton Hall. Her father had since become a Canon of Lichfield, with which city her memory is chiefly associated, not, however, with the strict clerical coterie which included Dr. Johnson, but with the sceptical set gathered together by Dr. Darwin, in which Day, the author of 'Sandford and Merton,' and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, were numbered. Notwithstanding this drawback, Mrs. King had been introduced to her so early as 1791, by correspondence at least. They had both stood sponsors to the child, apparently, of a Mrs. Stokes; but it is, of course, not certain that both were present at the baptism. This event, however, led to an exchange of verses; and I do not know that Mrs. King's lines are much inferior to Miss Seward's effusion. Both are here given:

To my Fellow Sponsor Mrs. K—

Warm from Antonia's praise thy virtues rise,
 In bright expansion to my mental eyes,
 O may the Infant, to whose tender youth
 The light of moral and religious truth
 We both have pledged, our bond of friendship prove,
 And Sisters' trust produce a Sister's love;
 But may *her* Life, domestic joys among,
 From whose soft form this tender scion sprung,
 By wisest guidance, and example fair,
 Make our instruction but superfluous care;

¹ *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xlii., 'Seward (Anna),' L. (Lefebvre-Cauchy); 'Darwin (Erasmus), — S—d (Sicard).'

And may we live to see each grace of mind,
 That strength of intellect, that taste refined,
 Those firm exertions, those affections mild,
 That glow in her, transmitted to her child.

These are Miss Seward's lines ; and Mrs. King replies :

Sweet to my heart I feel Antonia's praise,
 Sweet to my sense thy captivating lays ;
 Oft have I hung with rapture o'er thy verse,
 And oft in fancies' flight thy strains rehearse.
 Warm to my hopes thy future friendship glows,
 As sweet the mutual trust this gift bestows ;
 Prophetic hopes our little charge proclaim
 Rich in fair Science, Virtue, Taste, and Fame ;
 Formed by Antonia's hand the Powers assign
 All care superfluous but a care like thine,
 For should all bounteous Heaven each gift impart
 T' adorn her mind and animate her heart,
 Yet touched by thee the lovely maid shall shine
 More bright in Genius, Taste, and Grace divine.

These two copies of verses were preserved by Mrs. King's sister, the industrious Julia, from one of whose manuscript books I have taken them. As to the progress of the acquaintance with Miss Seward I know nothing ; but her verdict on the 'Tour in France' seems to have been favourable, since it was published. It appears to have met with sufficient success to encourage the author in further efforts.

On the return of Mr. and Mrs. King from France they evidently did not settle down in the country. The arrangements which Mr. King had made for securing the services of curates probably remained in force, and worked so smoothly as to form a strong temptation to spend most of the year in London, or rather in Kensington, which was then a pleasant, airy suburb. The Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin,¹ whose name will be frequently mentioned in these pages, observes of Mr. King :

His later professional labours were devoted to a translation of portions of the earlier Fathers in support of the Evidences of Christianity.

¹ Dibdin (T. F., D.D.), *Reminiscences of a Literary Life*.

Such an occupation, in the eyes even of pious contemporaries, would excuse a prolonged absence from his parishes, where he would be restricted to the limits of his own small library for the necessary books of reference, to the detriment of his writings and of religion itself.

Mr. King was 'the author of a tract "On the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures," also of a tract "On the Alliance between Church and State," and of "An Answer to the Letters of Peter Plymley," under the signature of "Brother Abraham."' These letters were a production of the Rev. Sydney Smith,¹ advocating Catholic Emancipation.

From expressions in Mrs. King's letters it may be gathered that the new mode of life was, in her estimation, somewhat unsatisfactory, notwithstanding the opportunities it afforded of frequently meeting her married daughter and her brothers, and of mixing in congenial society; but most fortunately it opened to her an enlarged sphere of usefulness. The course of benevolent exertion pursued by Thomas Bernard had led him to reflect on the many drawbacks affecting the condition of women. In the preface to the third volume of the Society's 'Reports' he wrote words which have caused him to be noticed at a recent time as the first advocate of Women's Rights to their own property and earnings, and which, uttered by a loyalist, form a strong contrast to the oppressive views of the revolutionary Americans, mentioned in a former volume of this book.² He says: ³

There has been much inconvenience attending the *feudal barbarism* of our law, which vests all the wife's property and *earnings* in the husband. In Rome it was otherwise; and among the higher classes of life, the rights of the female sex are provided for by the machinery of settlements. Sir Frederick Eden⁴ has

¹ Obituary Notice of the Rev. Richard King in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of December 1810.

² See vol. ii., chap. xix., p. 75.

³ Preface to the third volume of *Reports* (Note). (This passage was quoted by Mrs. Holyoake in the *Englishwoman's Review*, of March 15, 1887; Article ii.: 'Women's Work in George III.'s Reign.)

⁴ The reference is to Sir F. M. Eden's *State of the Poor*.

justly observed, that among the lower classes of life there is more economy, more self-denial, and more family regard among the women than is to be found in the other sex; and that there are few instances in which the ruin of a cottager's family has been occasioned by the wife. A law which should give to the women the complete disposal of the earnings of their own labour, would add a very considerable increase to the industry of the kingdom.

Now that Fanny King was domiciled near her brother, he had many facilities for discussing the possibility of improving the condition of women, and the result will be told. It seemed a rational, indeed almost an indispensable, preliminary to enlist the sympathies and energies of women belonging to the upper classes, who bore the lighter share of the burdens inflicted by law and custom on their sex, on behalf of their lowlier sisters. The Society had, indeed, worked from the first on this plan, and in the second volume of its 'Reports,' Thomas Bernard notes with satisfaction that a 'Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor at Clapham'¹ had been established under the auspices of the Rector, Mr. Venn, in February 1790. Clapham was mapped out into districts, and energetic measures were taken by doctors and other gentlemen belonging to the Society to stop the ravages of small-pox, putrid, and scarlet fever. To carry out a system of amelioration:

For each district a lady was appointed as sub-treasurer; whose office it was to keep the accounts of the district, and to call meetings of the visitors; no visitor having a power (except in cases of emergency) to give any material relief, but what shall be directed at a district meeting. Their accounts are passed at the general meeting. The measure of sub-dividing the districts among the visitors was soon after adopted, in some instances, with very good effect.

The Society undertook almost every good work that can be needed in a parish; but only the passages more especially referring to the share taken by women in this movement can here be given.

¹ Extract from 'An Account of a Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor at Clapham,' by Thomas Bernard, Esq. *Reports*, vol. ii., No. LXVIII.

In order to provide for the sick poor such refreshments, as might be ordered by the visitors or medical attendants, the Society engaged an agent at three shillings a week. She is a middle-aged woman, not burthened with a family, not going out to washing for her livelihood; and a person in whose cleanliness, assiduity, integrity, and skill in cookery, they and the poor can place a confidence. To her care are entrusted the stores for the relief of the sick; consisting of sago, wine, oatmeal &c. and also the materials for work. She has been furnished with a book of receipts for preparing refreshments for the sick; to be sent by the order of any of the visitors; she keeping a regular account of the same. It is her duty to register the names of the nurses and charwomen in the parish, who are deserving of recommendation, in order that those who want employment, may have an opportunity of stating that they are unoccupied, and that housekeepers, who want a nurse or helper in the house, may know who is disengaged. It is also her office, upon reference from the visitors, to make inquiries respecting the character of any person, when the visitors do not succeed in procuring satisfactory information on the subject.—Three ladies of the Society undertook to purchase for her the necessary utensils and stores, to furnish her with sufficient information and instructions, and to superintend her in the execution of her office.

The ladies, besides superintending various forms of relief, opened a ‘knitting and reading school’ for boys and girls under six years of age, to be taught by a woman who also gave them religious instruction on Sundays. ‘For this, and her firing and all expenses, she was to be allowed five shillings a week.’

It is probable that the working of this Society suggested how much might be done by organisation on a larger scale; and, in the course of 1803, the outcome of the joint deliberations of Thomas Bernard and his sister appeared in a circular afterwards printed in the Appendix to the Fourth Volume of the ‘Reports’ of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. It is there described as a ‘Copy of the Address sent round to the Lady Subscribers and Others,’¹ and, although published without the writer’s name, is recognised by Mrs.

¹ ‘Copy of the Address sent round to the Lady Subscribers and Others.’ *Reports of the Society B.C.P.*, vol. iv., Appendix No. VII.

King's descendants as being her composition ; indeed it bears unmistakable marks of her style. This document, it will be seen, deals with questions still agitated in the present day. It commences :

From the result of the different measures which have been adopted for the improvement of the character and condition of the poor, it appears that those plans have been most successful in which ladies have taken an active part in the arrangement and execution. Their habits of life, and their exemption from political and professional engagements, give them very considerable advantages, not merely in the detail, but in the peculiar kind of attention and interest, which subjects of this nature require. In one very important part—that which concerns the *education* and *employment* of the female poor—it is most obvious that very little can be done effectually or *decorously*, without the intervention of their own sex.

It is a melancholy truth, that a very considerable part of the *profligacy* and *misery* of the lower class of females, not merely in London, but in the kingdom at large, originates in the *want of education* and *employment*. Women are excluded from many occupations and means of life, and in some of those, which do naturally and properly come within their sphere of action, they are grievously and unjustly intruded upon by the other sex. Besides this, they cannot, consistently with decency or regard to character, go out in quest of general employment, but are confined most frequently to a few scanty and unproductive kinds of labour.

As far as the wretched and pitiable circumstances of many of these women are occasioned by the inattention of the upper and more enlightened classes, their superiors will, in some degree, be responsible for the consequences. The efforts of individuals for the correction of this or of any other general evil, will, it must be confessed, prove weak and inadequate ; but it is well known that with the advantage of the increased power of *cooperation*, there is hardly anything which may not be gradually and securely effected, and with a degree of ease, and to an extent of benefit, far exceeding the calculation of those who have only contemplated the solitary power of individual exertion.

The ladies of the Committee¹ directed their exertions, mainly, to the following points :—(1) ' The promotion of the

¹ In Appendix No. VIII. to the fourth volume of the Society's *Reports* may be found ' Details of Some of the Proposed Objects of the Ladies' Committee.'

Moral and Religious Education of the Female Poor.' (2) 'The Supply of Healthful and Domestic Employment for the Female Poor.' It was their desire to influence the fashions in such a manner as to afford an increase of home employment for their own sex; they also wished to see women filling many situations in shops, for which they were better suited than men, and also more extensively accepted as teachers in girls' schools. Their plan included the establishment of a seminary for the education of the 'Unprovided Daughters of Clergymen, Officers, and Others.'¹ A majority of the pupils in this institution were expected to become nursery governesses, but some, it was hoped, might aspire to superior rank as instructors of youth, while those who fell quite below the teaching mark might be competent to undertake the management of shops for tradespeople, hindered by age, infirmity, or any other reason, from attending thoroughly to their own business.²

It does not appear that this seminary was ever founded; probably the funds were not forthcoming. But Kensington, which became the headquarters of the Ladies' Committee of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, was transformed into a model parish,

¹ In Appendix No. IX. to the fourth volume of *Reports* will be found an 'Outline of Proposed Regulations of School, with Notes and Observations.'

² Appendix No. XIV. to the fourth volume of the Society's *Reports* is headed: 'The following Observations on the Seminary for the Education of the Daughters of Clergymen, Officers, and Others, to qualify them for being Governesses and Attendants on young Children, have been submitted by one of the Ladies, to the consideration of the Ladies' Committee.' The 'Observations,' which are probably by Mrs. King, are dated June 5, 1804. They define the education it is proposed to give the inmates of the Seminary. Appendix No. XVI. is headed 'Address of the Ladies' Committee for Promoting the Education and Employment of the Female Poor: London, December 12, 1804.' The next Appendix, No. XVII., is headed: 'Regulations of the Ladies' Committee, &c.' for the same ends. No. XVIII. is a list of the Ladies' Committee, &c., headed by the Queen as Patroness, the Princesses as Vice-Patronesses, and Lady Teignmouth as President. The names of many great ladies appear as Vice-Presidents and members, but it is probable that only a few helped in the real work or gave largely. Mrs. Porteous, the Bishop's wife, Mrs. Wilberforce, and Mrs. Henry Thornton, are amongst the untitled members. No. XX. is headed 'Queries respecting Female Education and Employment.' In the fifth volume, Nos. II. VI. and VII. of the Appendix, are on 'The Ladies' Society,' as it was then called, with reference to the same subjects, and to the rules adopted in its schools.

in which the ladies superintended a Charity School, Sunday School, Workhouse School, and School of Industry. The Vicar of Kensington, Mr. Ormerod, appears to have cordially accepted their ministrations; his wife, indeed, became a member of the committee.

Some light is thrown on one portion of the Ladies' exertions, in which they appear as members of a Charity Organisation Society on a limited scale, by a small manuscript book in my possession. It was given me by the descendants of Mrs. King, and the opening statement, which defines the work to be undertaken, is evidently her composition. In this ¹ it is proposed :

That the objects of these Ladies be the care of the Schools, and the superintendence of the female Poor, so far as the leisure and opportunity of each renders it convenient to them. That these Ladies, or as many of them as are disengaged, meet once a month during the winter at each other's house, about the period of the full moon, to discuss different subjects concerning the schools and poor, and that the lady at whose house they meet, be the President of the evening, and that she recommend one poor person as the object of charity, towards whose relief each lady shall subscribe not more than a shilling or less than sixpence.

That the object of charity must be personally known to the Lady who recommends her, as a woman of good character, industry, and sobriety, and under circumstances of distress that makes her at that time a particular object of charity.

That the Ladies take into consideration the particulars of her situation and consult together on the best means of employing the evening's contribution, and that the name, circumstances, and mode of relief, be entered in this book.

That each Lady be required to save all the old linen, flannel, and other useful articles she can spare in her family, to assist Lying-in-Women;—if made up into shirts, caps, &c. by those who have leisure, the more valuable,—and that these things be presented at the monthly meetings, and disposed according to Mrs. Ormerod's recommendation, unless particular objects are known and recommended by any of the Ladies :—

That the improvement and welfare of the Schools be discussed at their Meetings, and any useful proposals be suggested on the subject.

¹ MS. Book at Nether Winchendon.

That the objects of charity proposed, and all the proceedings of this meeting be laid before the Revd. Mr. Ormerod for his consent and approbation.

The same volume contains entries in divers handwritings relating to the recipients of charity. For example :

Tuesday Dec. 11th.—1st Meeting at Mrs. Rankins's—the object of charity, the wife of William Tilbury, a poor woman with 3 children, crippled with the rheumatism, and unable to do anything towards maintaining her family, the earnings of the poor man being inadequate to the purpose.

Collected 13^s which was laid out in purchasing a bedstead for them,—the poor woman's rheumatism being greatly increased by having from necessity slept on a damp floor.

Monday, Dec. 17th.—2nd Meeting at Mrs. King's—the object of charity proposed Elizabeth Mitchell, a poor woman lately lain in, and from illness and poverty in extreme distress, herself, her husband, and five children to be maintained out of his earnings, 14^s a week, out of which 2^s weekly for rent, and 11^s for bread from the dearness of that article,—that is, 1^s only remains for coals and other necessaries. Collected 15^s, to be given 3^s a week for 5 weeks.

Tuesday, Janry. 8th 1805.—3rd meeting at Mrs. Ormerod's—the objects of charity—three old women : one, near ninety years of age, and blind ; her name, Osborne, Gravel Pitts ;—Costhed, an old and infirm person at the Gravel Pitts.—And Mary Walker, Church Street—all in extreme want of clothing.

It will be observed that the objects on this occasion had risen from one to three ; at later meetings they sometimes reached the number of six. Want of clothing was a frequent trouble ; it stood in the way of persons desirous of obtaining situations, and in one case had prevented a sick woman from going to a hospital ; the hire of a hackney-coach to convey her thither had proved, an additional difficulty. Kensington was then so rural that some elderly women are mentioned as subsisting by occasional employment in weeding ; one woman slept in a farmer's barn. There is, of course, no great variety in the entries—one case is mentioned of a girl nearly blind, for whom a sufficient sum was raised to send her to Margate ; but most of the objects of charity were relieved at their homes or sent to institutions in London.

The little book is not full, and apparently contains the records of the first winter's meetings only. It is indeed but a rough draft, and was probably copied more formally into some book kept by Mr. Ormerod, where, as the committee became more thoroughly organised, the subsequent proceedings may have been entered at once.

It had been intended to spread the work of the parent Society by means of District Ladies' Committees in various parts of London and the country; I am unable to discover how far this intention was carried out, beyond Mortlake,¹ where one of these committees was certainly organised. But the ladies working in Kensington undoubtedly effected some good beyond its limits. The Mortlake Friendly Society for Women also owed its origin to the fact that Mrs. King's daughter was married to the clergyman, the Rev. John Collinson.²

Mr. and Mrs. King, as I have heard, generally inhabited a house in Phillimore Place during their stay at Kensington, and indeed some letters dated from there are extant. One of their neighbours was the Rev. T. F. Dibdin³—already mentioned—the son of a captain in the merchant service, who was the 'Tom Bowling' of his younger brother Charles's famous song. Captain Thomas Dibdin, having been ruined by the bad faith of the Nabob of Arcot, died prematurely, worn out with trouble, and was soon followed by his broken-hearted widow. Their sons were thus left to the mercy of relations.

Thomas, the younger, had been called to the Bar, but was next advised to enter Holy Orders, had followed this advice, and was waiting sadly for preferment. His 'bibliomania,' as he terms it, probably led to his friendship with Mr. King, and, through him, to an acquaintance with

¹ Resolutions of the Mortlake Society for Promoting the Welfare of the Poor. *Reports of the Society B.C.P.*, vol. iv., Appendix No. XIX.

² Extract from 'An Account of the Mortlake Friendly Society for Women,' by the Rev. John Collinson, A.M. *Reports of the Society B.C.P.*, vol. iv., No. CXX.

³ *Reminiscences of a Literary Life*, by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, D.D., chap. xi., 'Kensingtoniana.'

Mr. Bernard. His 'Reminiscences' contain some curious notes about Kensington, where he resided twenty-one years. At this time he inhabited a house in Thornton Street, 'full of timber, and full of inconveniences in consequence.' He writes :

Upon Camden Hill not a single house for the first five years was erected—except the large brick mansion upon the brow of the hill—tenanted latterly by the family of De Vismes. Between Lord Holland's and Mr. Delafield's (now inhabited by Mr. South of astronomical celebrity), there was not one mansion to the right or to the left. This gave the neighbourhood a tolerably rural aspect.

Mr. Ormerod, the Vicar of Kensington, was another of Mr. King's intimate set; also Henry Norton Willis, 'a gentleman and a scholar, and a man of broad and liberal understanding,' who was second in command of the Kensington Volunteers, '*par courtoise* Colonel,' a gentleman of the Board of Green Cloth, and afterwards Treasurer to the Princess Charlotte of Wales. His daughter, brought up to study Greek by him, and a remarkable artist, was probably an agreeable companion to Mrs. King; but Mr. Dibdin tells only of the gentlemen, who, no doubt, met frequently at each other's houses.

Of the Rev. Dr. Gosset, who afterwards removed to town [he writes], 'I have before spoken, as well as of the Rev. Thomas King'¹ [the Christian name is a mistake]; both men not only of very opposite principles to each other, but in very little union with those of Mr. Willis. It was amusing to see these three learned gentlemen with the Vicar 'cheering them on,' having occasional gladiatorial skirmishes with each other—chiefly upon politics.

At that time there was little or no *half tint* in men's opinions. They thought boldly and spoke roundly. Mr. King was for pouring the whole contents of his vial of wrath upon the head of Mr. Fox and of Bonaparte. The income-tax and the assessed taxes were always the *Incubi* which sat on Dr. Gosset's pillow. Mr. Ormerod

¹ There is no doubt about the person intended; Dibdin describes him as brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Bernard, and Senior Fellow of New College. The *Reminiscences* were published much later.

strove to frighten them away ; and Mr. Willis would come in coolly, after Mr. King's vial of wrath had been entirely expended, to joke and to jeer in the pleasantest and most reconciling manner imaginable. He was always sure of Mr. King's heart being in the right place.

It is certain that Mr. King's politics and patriotism were not mere effervescence. Dibdin says, in another place :¹

Whatever he took in hand, he took earnestly in hand, and his friendship partook of this earnestness and warmth of feeling. Great as was the disparity of our years, he entered into all my professional and literary undertakings with the alacrity and zeal of a young man, and used to quote Homer's definition of friendship with an air of conscious triumph, in the amplified but vigorous couplet of Pope :

A generous friendship no cold medium knows ;
Burns with one love, with one resentment glows.

He was a most ardent and zealous anti-Bonapartist, and allowed himself neither composure by day nor repose by night, as that restless warrior went on in the career of victory. When I brought him the news of the victory of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson, he raised his eyes and hands to heaven, exclaiming, ' How I envy him his Euthanasia ! '

The battle of Austerlitz, followed by the death of Pitt, had nearly proved fatal to the Rev. Richard King. I have heard from my father that he took to his bed on hearing of the great statesman's end ; and this was no mere caprice—he remained for some days really ill, feeling the condition of affairs no doubt almost as keenly as the dying minister when he exclaimed, ' Roll up that map [of Europe] ; it will not be wanted again these ten years ! '

Kind and sympathetic as Mr. King showed himself, and, as Dibdin acknowledged, to the end of his life, in one respect the struggling unbeneficed parson considered his friend a little hard upon him. He says :

My neighbour and excellent friend the Rev. Mr. King, used to cheer and comfort me, by telling me, not long after I had been in

¹ Dibdin (Rev. T. F.), *Reminiscences*, chap. v., ' Authorship.'

Orders, that 'if a man got preferment at forty, he must think himself a lucky fellow.' I own that this did not strike me as very logical or very encouraging; especially when I knew that I had *no friends* from whom I could expect preferment in the way of *claim*.

It is satisfactory to be able to state that Mr. Dibdin did eventually obtain preferment, although after he was turned forty, and had passed through a long period of struggle—not lessened of course by his marrying in spite of poverty.

Mention has been made of Mr. King's early friendship with the Rev. Isaac Huntingford; he was now Warden of Winchester College and Bishop of Hereford, and appears to have often visited his old friend in London. Many years after this period, when Mr. Dibdin was Dr. Dibdin, Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and Vicar of Exning, Essex, he published a compilation of sermons, termed 'The Sunday Library.'¹ The fourth volume commences with two sermons by Bishop Huntingford, and in a prefatory notice the editor says:

. . . The absolute intrinsic worth of these Discourses must be the best apology for their length.

But, in the task of this selection, I have been influenced also by a feeling, which, as it would be hypocrisy to suppress, so can it never operate to my shame to avow. The publication from which the two ensuing Sermons have been chosen, was first pointed out to me by the friend of the author to whom the second volume is dedicated. That friend was the late Rev. Mr. King, Rector of Worthen in Shropshire; a man of singular urbanity of disposition, and of considerable scholastic attainments; and with whom, in earlier years, I have spent many a cheerful and many a happy hour. He was both my warm friend and my near neighbour; and within his hospitable mansion I used frequently to associate with the amiable and learned author of these Sermons. The reader shall judge for himself of the relative footing on which the Bishop and his late friend stood with each other, by an extract from the concluding portion of the dedicatory epistle of the former to the latter:—

¹ *The Sunday Library, or Protestant's Manual for the Sabbath Day; being a Selection of Sermons from Eminent Divines of the Church of England*, by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, D.D., Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Bishop Huntingford's two Sermons are entitled: 'False Philosophy Considered,' and 'On the Preaching of our Lord.'

‘Our civil polity hath not been treated with greater moderation than our religion. Both have been vilified, and the event in both cases hath been similar.’

And so on. This theme may be passed over until the paragraph which concerns Mr. King is reached.

‘Thus persuaded, through that term of years which by Divine Providence may still be added to our lives, may we remain equally invariable in our Christian and constitutional principles! Nor in these only be constancy shown. But may we also retain and cherish that mutual esteem under a full sense of which this work comes to you; presuming on your known candour to hope, that as it is dedicated to friendship, and wishes to recommend the moral and religious truths of the Gospel, it will, notwithstanding its imperfections, be received and viewed by you with great indulgence.’

The frontispiece of this fourth volume of the ‘Sunday Library’ is an engraving from Sir Thomas Lawrence’s portrait of Bishop Huntingford, representing an intellectual and spiritual face. When Dibdin wrote, the Bishop who was still living—an octogenarian—sent him a short letter dated ‘Hereford, August 30, 1831,’ which begins:

Dear Sir,—That such a work as the Sunday Library had been published, I did not know till the middle of July last. A gentleman left for me the fourth volume as a present, and he assured a most acceptable one. If *you* were that gentleman [which I was not], I should indeed have been happy to have seen one so intimate with my ever dear friend Mr King.¹

Mr. King, it may be added, had then been dead more than twenty years.

Dr. Dibdin has made no mention of Mrs. King, who probably did not appear often at the meetings between her husband and his circle of male friends. In the short ‘Memoir’² prefixed to her principal literary work, which is probably written by the son-in-law, who knew her during the greater part of her married life, the following description is to be found, which, however, enters into no details:

¹ *Reminiscences*, chap. xii., ‘London.’

² *Memoir of Mrs. King*, prefixed to *Female Scripture Characters*.

Her vigorous mind embraced opposite qualities ; affectionate and indulgent, she could be strict upon occasion, and knew how to enforce authority ; possessing a disinterested and almost romantic generosity, she managed with cleverness and scrupulous accuracy all the details of business ; devoting herself with zeal to promote the cause of religion and virtue, she had a true liberality in allowing for a difference in opinion in others. An hospitable temper, a graceful familiarity, a lively conversation increased her influence, which was not at all lessened by her joining with cheerfulness in the common amusements of society.

It has been shown in the narrative of Mrs. King's ' Tour in France ' that she sometimes attended the theatre. This she did in London as well as Paris. The picture is, however, not complete without an addition to the effect that she was strict as to the character of the pieces ; as appears from a letter ¹ of her son-in-law (written in 1806) to his wife :

To the play of all things in the world : the Beaux' Stratagem ² at Drury Lane, where Elliston acted Archer, and a new Performer, Mr Penley (a great favourite) Scrub. Yr Mother seems rather shocked at our choice, & says it may be a gentleman's play, but she took out some young ladies who were once in her charge at the theatre, thinking it improper for their audience.

Mr. and Mrs. King's stay in town was prolonged for some years ; or rather they spent a portion of each year there. It was in their house in Phillimore Place, which they had lent to Mrs. Smith, that her daughter Frances died. From Mrs. Smith's narrative, in which she does not mention her sister or brother-in-law, it would seem that they were not at Kensington then.

¹ Preserved in a MS. book lent by the Collinson Family to the author of this *Family History*.

² By Farquhar. See Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. xx.

CHAPTER XXIII

SCROPE BERNARD AND HIS FAMILY

Interest displayed by the People of Aylesbury in Banks—The Aylesbury Election of 1802—Open Bribery—Result of the Poll—Decision of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Election—A Semi-Political Entertainment—Scrope Bernard plants his Kimble Estate—He founds a Village School at Kimble—Scrope Bernard enters Parliament as Member for St. Mawes—His Colleagues—Mary Ann Bernard's Diary—The Cooling Family—A Fête at Stowe—Louis XVIII.—Visits to Brighton—Margaret Bernard's Attachment to Henry Pigott.

I HAVE not found any papers bearing on Scrope Bernard's Parliamentary life while he was member for Aylesbury which seem worth transcribing. It was an exciting period, but he did not take a prominent part in the House. For politics, strictly so called, I doubt if he had much taste. In philanthropic legislation he was often interested, especially in all matters connected with Buckinghamshire.

The inhabitants of Aylesbury petitioned Parliament for the gradual, but, if possible, speedy abolition of the Slave trade. I have a draft of this petition in Scrope Bernard's handwriting, which is also mentioned in a letter from the Vicar. Sixty-eight persons signed, all apparently of the professional and trading classes.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century it would seem that the mind and feelings of Aylesbury were strongly exercised on the subject of banks—two establishments of that kind having taken root, perhaps for the first time—evoking and focussing all the party spirit latent in that borough. Scrope Bernard transacted business with Rickford's bank, which appears to have been the older establishment of the two, and this was sufficient to make Neale, the new banker, his enemy, or at least his opponent.

Early in 1802 a General Election was known to be

impending. On this occasion Aylesbury overpassed the wide margin of violence and corruption tolerated, if not approved, by the age and nation, and risked the destruction of its Parliamentary existence. Colonel Lake, who, instead of watching over the interests of the town, had been gaining glory in India, thought it well to retire, and an historical contest ensued, which will be narrated in the words of Mr. Gibbs: ¹

No election at Aylesbury ever caused more excitement, or was so long remembered as that of 1802; it was known as Bent's. Late elections had passed off quietly, and there were appearances that this would also be a very quiet one—a state of affairs the Aylesbury potwallers did not believe in; they wanted a change, something more moving, and were determined to 'open the borough' as they termed it. Pressure was put on some of the leading townsmen, and a preliminary meeting was held at the Crown Inn, on the 13th of January 1802. . . .

A kind of requisition was then got up to Mr Bent, and in a few days that gentleman was announced to be a candidate. Bribery at elections was not then considered at all disreputable. It was openly and 'honestly' done, and all, or nearly all, partizans engaged in it, either as dispensers or recipients of money; indeed, so open was it, that the town-crier was often engaged to announce that Mr So and So's 'benevolences' would be distributed at such a time and such a place; the free and independent electors would then flock in crowds to receive money from every party, well knowing how impossible it was to serve all. It was no unusual circumstance for a 'potwaller' to make some £15 or £20 of his vote, not hesitating for a moment to levy 'black mail' on all candidates, many or few.

A potwaller [says Mr. Gibbs elsewhere] ² was a man who boiled his own pot, and notwithstanding that he occupied only a portion of a house, he was entitled to a vote; thus two voters might live in one house, if each 'wabbled his own pot'; in fact a potwaller was a lodger boarding himself.

The Aylesbury electors at this period ³ exacted no pledges from

¹ Gibbs (Robert), *History of Aylesbury*, 'Parliamentary History (resumed), the Reign of George III,' chap. xxv.

² *Ibid.*, 'Parliamentary History, the Reign of William III.,' chap. xx.

³ *Ibid.*, 'Parliamentary History (resumed), the Reign of George III.,' chap. xxv.

their candidates, cared nothing for Peace, Retrenchment, or Reform; they only required a definite answer to one question—‘How *much* money have you got?’ In Mr Bent’s case the answer was satisfactory; he was just the man wanted. Not that they cared for his £3,500—Oh, no! that was a mere flea-bite to them. They calculated that if Mr Bent spent the sum he promised, the other candidates could but behave as handsomely as he, and thus they saw some 10,000 glittering guineas within their grasp. Mr Bent visited the town; he was met by a concourse of people; his horses were detached from his carriage, ropes were affixed, and a lot of men dragged the conveyance round the principal parts of the town, preceded by a band of music; he was drawn in, to all intents and purposes.

The cavalcade drew up at Mr Neale’s bank, from the front of which Mr Bent and a Mr Moore addressed the assembly. The other candidates on this occasion were Scrope Bernard, Esq., the late member, and James Du Pré, Esq. Although the name of Thomas T. Fremantle, Esq., —Alexander, Esq., and —Bent, jun, Esq., appear, they were merely nominal candidates put forward to answer the electioneering manœuvres of the others.

Mr. Du Pré, having attempted to dispense with bribery, was treated to a mock funeral procession, and had to give in to the prevailing custom.

Mr Bent[continues the historian of Aylesbury] had no connection whatever with the town; he was a West India merchant of good standing in London; he was ‘fished up’ as the ‘third man’ for Aylesbury, and those who went in search would have brought down any one who possessed the requisite qualification, viz: a long purse. Mr Bent was probably a stranger also to the ways and means of managing elections at Aylesbury at that period.

The preparations for this election commenced about the beginning of the year 1802, and after Mr Bent’s introduction everything went on merrily; public-houses were opened and ‘benevolences’ given by the respective candidates as usual, at several inns, the principal ones being the Bull’s Head, the Crown, the Lock, the Angel, the Bear, and the Bell. As far as can be known, the gifts to the voters averaged about nine guineas each. Bands of music from Buckingham, Waddesdon, Bicester, and other places paraded the town for weeks, as the election did not take place for six months from the first visit of Mr Bent. ‘Snacks,’ luncheons, and dinners given to the electors and their wives were of frequent

occurrence. Neale the banker, fraternized at the George Inn with Mother Durham the bellman's wife and her friends, at which inn they lunched together; big and little folks were for awhile one happy family, and although there may have been a jealous feeling as to a favourite candidate, the differences were sunk; all parties, with few exceptions, having the same object in view—plunder. Even many women and children in the town went heart and soul into this election contest. There was more division among the Church folks than any other class. The dignitaries were opposed to the innovation of the 'third man,' whilst a majority in the choir were his supporters. One Sunday morning (so the story goes) the clerk, in the usual course gave out LXXVIII. Psalm, 4th verse, O.V. :—

For why? their hearts were nothing Bent.

There was no response from the choir, in fact there was a strike but not a strike up; neither would the singers go first nor the minstrels follow after; a pause took place, when one of the choir, a Bentite, came to the front of the singing loft and gave out the LVII. Psalm, 7th verse, N.V. :—

Oh, God! my heart is fix'd, 'tis Bent.

Upon which the choir started in full force.¹ Election matters were carried even further, for they found their way to the baptismal font. John Holloway the wheelwright, brought his boy to be christened, and he named him Robert Bent Holloway; he was checkmated by Castle, the soldier, whose son was named Bernard Castle; Woodbridge, the higgler, followed next, his son and heir taking the name of Bernard Woodbridge; the honours were eventually divided by Gibbons, the plumber, bringing up his daughter, and naming her Mary Bent Gibbons.

The account of the proceedings at this election reads strangely at the present day. The nominations took place on a tombstone in the churchyard, and the polling in the County Hall. The Hall was then under repair, and there was a complaint made that the voters could not get to the poll; the evidence before the House of Commons hints at some private passage into the Hall from out of the Bear Inn garden. Mr Woodman, one of the returning officers, in his evidence before the House of Commons, refers to the adjournment from the nomination in the churchyard to the election in the County Hall, from which it appears that when they reached the Hall they found the doors bolted and chained, and

¹ The Vicar interfered, apparently with success.

thirty Irishmen on the other side knocking people about; there was also a complaint that the Hall had been packed by persons passing the private passage through the Gaol. It took two days to poll 453 votes; according to law then, the poll might have been kept open several more days; the result was:—Du Pré, 336; Bent, 271; Bernard, 180. An analysis of the poll showed that of the 271 who voted for Bent, 234 voted for Du Pré also; that 35 voted Bent and Bernard; Bent had two plumpers; 101 voted Bernard and Du Pré; Bernard had seven plumpers; 34 voted Fremantle and Bernard; two who voted for Fremantle participated in the distribution of money.

A petition to Parliament followed this election, and seemed likely to prove a serious business for the town. In 1804 the Committee of the House of Commons decided, after eleven days deliberation:

‘That James Du Pré, Esq. is duly elected a Burgess to serve in the present Parliament.

‘That Robert Bent, Esq. is not duly elected a Burgess to serve in the present Parliament for the said Borough.

‘That Thomas F. Fremantle, Esq. is not duly elected a Burgess to serve in the present Parliament for the said Borough.

‘That it appears to this Committee that at the said election Robert Bent, Esq. was, by his agents, guilty of bribery.

‘That it appears to the Committee such a notorious system of corruption was found, and such instances of individual acts of bribery were committed previous to the said election with a view to influence the same, as to render it incumbent on the Committee to submit the same to the most serious consideration of the House, in order that such proceedings may be instituted thereon as the House in its wisdom may think proper to adopt.’

Especial reference was made by the Committee to some townsmen who were severally and respectively engaged in the same system of corruption.

In fact poor Mr. Bent was in imminent danger of a prosecution; but he escaped this further mortification, and appears to have lived quietly as a private gentleman for the rest of his life, making no second attempt to sit in Parliament, and keeping quite clear of the scene of his troubles. Mr. Du Pré was the conquering hero of the election, and continued to represent Aylesbury until 1812.

Scrope Bernard's name does not appear in the declaration of the Committee of the House of Commons; he had evidently retired in disgust from the affair, and it was, no doubt, believed that the substitution of the Hon. Thomas Grenville, brother to the Marquess of Buckingham, would ensure a triumph for the party; but in the contest, which took place in 1804, he was beaten by William Cavendish, Esq. The result of the Parliamentary inquiry as regarded the offending town was, that it was spared the penalty of disfranchisement,¹ but that the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury were annexed to the Borough, every person within their limits, who would have possessed a vote had he lived in the Borough, becoming entitled to the privilege. It was hoped that the evil influences at work within the town might thus be neutralised.

It is almost superfluous to add that these contests and their results caused much bitter feeling in Aylesbury and the neighbourhood. Had Thomas Bernard deferred writing his father's life until that time, he would hardly have lauded the gratitude of the townspeople; but a new generation was, of course, springing up, and the kindnesses of former days were forgotten.

Some memoranda² remain showing that Scrope Bernard prepared answers to any charges that might be brought against him. There is especial mention of that very usual character 'a mysterious stranger.' The following notes were probably compiled for the use of the Marquess and his brother the forthcoming candidate:

Those who opposed Mr. Bernard chiefly consisted of:—

1—The old opposition who on all occasions were adverse to the Marquess of Buckingham and his connections:

2—Those tradesmen, who took up the cause of the queried men, having money owing to them by those men, which they had expected to receive out of their gratuities. Among these were J^{no} Marsh, Will^m Marsh, T. Berry, &c.

3—Those who were partisans with Messrs Neale & Dell in the contest between the two Banks.

¹ Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*. Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aylesbury.'

² MSS. at Nether Winchendon.

4—Those who thought, or pretended, they had not been sufficiently noticed by Mr. Bernard, such as Hickman the apothecary, Lathwell a retired Tradesman.

The ‘queried men’ were, no doubt, persons whose right to vote had been questioned; and apparently the right was disallowed, since their partisans, as the account implied, were unable to obtain any money.

A letter¹ from Mrs. Scrope Bernard, written from Winchendon to her husband, whose residence at the moment is not specified, probably belongs to this time, but is not dated. She mentions a proposed entertainment, which would seem to have been at least semi-political, and proposes an extension of the invitations. ‘One trouble, expense & fatigue’—the last word underscored—‘will do for all and then its over.’ Then comes a suggestive passage:

Collins has told me that he met on the road a Mr Baldwin, who asked him if you had given a feast, as Mr Winslow told Mr B that you had sent him a Note of invitation, & shew’d him it at Aylesbury market—Mr Winslow wanted Mr Baldwin to come with him to Winchendon, but Mr B— replied—‘he had no invitation from Mr Bernard or he should have liked to have come, provided the day was not a very busy one with him.’ Collins begged me to write to you about this.

I have no certain knowledge, but think that Mr. Baldwin was probably a superior farmer from the neighbourhood of Kimble, whose name is mentioned elsewhere; that name was found, in or about Monks Risborough, within my memory, but appears to be no longer known in the locality.

The party was evidently to be of a varied character. Sir George Lee, the principal person invited, was leaving for Worthen, and therefore unable to come. Mr. Goodall, of Dinton, had accepted. ‘Mr. Hedges told Collins that there required no answer, & he only said “very well.”’ It was not necessarily a gentleman’s party exclusively, as there was some doubt whether ‘Madam Franklin’ should be invited. For some unexplained reason Monday was the chosen day,

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

which was inconvenient for getting in provisions, and made Sunday work for the servants, as Mrs. Bernard complains. She adds: 'I believe Collins has got musicians but none from Aylesbury.' And in a postscript: 'I have just heard that there is a disappointment amongst the musicians, for the Haddenham ones are affronted, because they were not allowed to play at Mr. Grubb's—therefore they have refused to play here—but we shall have Long Crendon men, & 7 in all with Crowton,' who probably belonged to Cudington.

In this year Mr. Bernard, as appears by a document, was Captain of Aylesbury Infantry Volunteers. This is the only mention I have found of the corps, but he had been in the Militia some years previously. Several letters from his friend Mr. Browne, who seems to have held a responsible position in that corps, and partly through Scrope's influence with the Marquess of Buckingham, enter into some details concerning the officers and the movements of the Militia. They chiefly belong to the May of 1794, and were written from Hungerford, Marlbro' (which the writer styles 'Head-quarters'), Salisbury, &c. ; probably at a time when Scrope was detained in town by Parliamentary duties. The encampment that year was expected to take place at Weymouth. Apparently, Scrope had then been some time in the service, for he was well remembered in some of the towns, as Mr. Browne tells him, and his absence regretted.

So far as Scrope Bernard was concerned, one effect of the defeat seems to have been an increased affection for his Kimble property. This did not intimate any vindictive feeling towards Aylesbury, where he still had friends and supporters, since Kimble was perhaps a little nearer the town than Winchendon. But in every interval of leisure his active mind was intent upon new schemes ; and after rounding his estate by dint of negotiations with neighbouring proprietors, he commenced planting on a large scale, apparently with a view to building a mansion, the manor house of Kimble and another gentleman's house having been nearly, if not entirely, demolished.

The letters and bills, which have been preserved, show that many thousands of young trees must have been planted by Scrope Bernard, and that much of the timber which now adorns his district of the Chiltern hills, and is visible for several miles round, dates from this time.

The trees chiefly mentioned are oak, birch, Dutch elm and witchelm, alders, sycamores, horse-chestnuts, acacias, and pine-asters¹ there were also ornamental shrubs, and even plants of smaller growth, in large numbers.

Notes of repairs, alterations, and additions to the homesteads are also numerous. Mr. Bernard must have spent days in superintending these arrangements, and as he can scarcely have travelled from London, or even driven from Winchendon, on every occasion, to return the same day, he probably lodged at the Great Kimble Inn, which, during his ownership, and for some time after, bore the name of 'The Bernard Arms,' and is now called 'The Bear and Cross,' from the blazon of the Bernard and Tyringham arms on its sign.

Unluckily, it may be surmised that the expenditure in the two Kimbles, and the adjoining parishes—for Mr. Bernard eventually possessed land in five²—prevented him from purchasing the 'Winchendon Hill Farm,' when the Rev. Sir Charles Cave, as he then was, sold it in 1804. He bought only the alienated moiety of the advowson, and the Hill Farm passed to Mr. John Rose, in whose family it has continued ever since. Sundry additions were indeed made to his original Winchendon estate³ of further messuages and fields in Cuddington and Haddenham, but these were probably acquired before he became so engrossed in the Kimble property.

¹ Letters, Lists, Receipted Bills, and Instructions, at Nether Winchendon.

² Great Kimble, Little Kimble, Ellesborough, Monks Risborough, Princes Risborough, Little Hampden. Sir Scrope was anxious to collect all possible information about the Courts of the various manors he acquired; with what result I do not know; but at Nether Winchendon I have heard that he held the last Court Baron there ever was.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

In 1803 a gamekeeper was to be solemnly installed on the Kimble estate by the following deed : ¹

*Bucks } I Scrope Bernard Esquire Lord of the Manors of
to wit. }* Great Kimble Little Kimble Fennell Grove alias
Kimblewick and Marshall's alias Marsh in the County
of Bucks do hereby nominate authorize and appoint
William Bray of Great Kimble aforesaid yeoman to
be my Gamekeeper of and within my said Manors of
Great Kimble Little Kimble Fennell Grove and
Marshalls in the County aforesaid with full power
licence and authority to kill any Hare pheasant
partridge or any other game whatsoever in and upon
my said Manors of Great Kimble Little Kimble
Fennell Grove and Marshalls for my sole use and
immediate benefit and also to take and seize all such
Guns Bows Greyhounds setting Dogs lurcher or other
Dogs to kill hares or conies tramells lowbells hays or
other nets harepipes snares or other engines for the
taking and killing of conies hares pheasants partridges
or other game as within the precincts of my said
Manors of Great Kimble Little Kimble Fennell Grove
and Marshalls shall be used by any person or persons
who by law are prohibited to keep or use the same.
Given under my hand and seal this — day of
August in the year one thousand eight hundred and
three.

Mr. Bernard's seal—a demi-bear with motto, 'Bear and Forbear'—was already affixed to this decree, when so many emendations appear to have suggested themselves, necessitating unsightly erasures and insertions, that it was consigned to a drawer. I have not found its successor, the fair copy ; but this original draft appears to contain the latest improvements. It was some time in hand, being apparently dated at first '25th of June' ² and then '10th of August.' Both dates were eventually superseded.

¹ MS. at Nether Winchendon.

² There does not seem, indeed, to be any evidence that William Bray, or any one else, ever was appointed, in this formal manner, gamekeeper—which would, I am told, have made it a freehold office, and thus rendered him irremovable. Perhaps Mr. Bernard thought better of it.

A more important transaction connected with Scrope Bernard's ownership of Kimble is the foundation of a village school. The officiating clergymen of Great Kimble had for years past resided at Great Hampden and taken the two parishes. It is from thence that Mr. Grimshaw, who must have been a curate, as his name does not appear in the list of incumbents either in Kimble, Hampden, or any neighbouring parish, dated the following letter.¹ The vicar of the two parishes, Mr. Forester,² was evidently very much of an absentee. He corresponded at one time largely with Mr. Bernard on the subject of land, but his letters are generally dated from some London address.

Sir,—I was much indebted to you for the favour of yours and flattered by your approbation of all our arrangements at the School at Great Kimble—And though it is now in its infant state, its good effects are already, and will I trust materially improve with time.—The children are regular in their attendance, well behaved, and attentive, and I am sure our choice could not have fallen on one more qualified to superintend than Mrs. Beckett.—Considering the due observance of the Sabbath a point never to be overlooked in the education of the children of the Poor, I ventured to add Sunday to our original plan of Instruction, and in so doing, as it gives a fuller effect to the object of the Institution, I hope I did not presume too far in thinking I should have your concurrence.—Mrs. Beckett will, I have no doubt, take great pleasure in informing you of the little details of our plan, to which I mean to add that of monthly examinations, to ascertain the progress that is made; and I have particularly requested Mr. Redding [?] and the other farmer occasionally to attend by way of giving a further sanction to the utility of the Institution.

I beg to repeat the satisfaction I shall take in doing all in my power to promote its success, and am highly gratified in thinking I have your concurrence in the same cause—and we are much indebted to you for the Catechism Tables, one of which I ordered to be hung.

I have to lament that there is little probability of Mr. Forester paying a visit into Bucks, as I know the pleasure he would feel in accepting your kind invitation, as I should likewise in being of the party.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² His name is recorded by Lipscomb as Vicar of the two parishes. The letters to Mr. Bernard are at Nether Winchendon.

With many thanks for your goodness and for your kind assurances to Mrs. Beckett that you fully relied on my management of the School, I have the honour to remain,

Sir

Your very obliged and humble servant

T. GRIMSHAW.

Hampden, August 30th, 1806.

I have no further particulars of this school; it probably included Little Kimble, in which Mr. Bernard evidently took much interest, and on which, to judge from the manner of referring the arrangement to him, he must have spent a considerable sum of money. The invitation alluded to by Mr. Grimshaw was probably to Winchendon, where the three gentlemen would have gone thoroughly into the business of the school, and would probably have driven to pay it a visit, or more than one.

It is interesting to note how the promoters dwell on the marked improvement in the morals and manners which ordinarily followed the establishment of schools as a test of their usefulness, because these are points which have in many respects lost their pre-eminence in more recent times. But compensation, or consolation, must be sought in the multitude of subjects now forcibly instilled into the infant mind. Some of these would no doubt have puzzled good Mrs. Beckett as much as her scholars. But we must in these days live in hope of seeing both the rural and urban population brought to a high pitch of perfection in every way, albeit by very circuitous methods.

In this year, 1806, Scrope Bernard re-entered Parliament, and without trouble. He became the representative of St. Mawes in Cornwall, a pocket borough belonging to the Marquess of Buckingham. Whatever may be said against the arrangements which were common before the first Reform Bill, boroughs of this description offered a refuge to persons, often worthy and suitable candidates, who were unable to endure a succession of such contests as the Aylesbury election of 1802, and probably involved, in many cases,

less loss of self-respect than the unpleasant process of courting the populace.

St. Mawes was not a populous place. Its history and position as a parliamentary borough are described in an interesting volume by Mr. W. P. Courtney :¹

When Queen Elizabeth was seeking for some hamlets in Cornwall to be dignified with the honour of choosing representatives for the House which the Tudor Sovereigns designed to pack with their nominees, she could not find one better adapted for her purpose than the little town of St. Mawes. Small as was the town, 'one street under a hill,' it was yet larger than the borough, and in order that the franchise might be kept in as few hands as possible, the right of representation was limited to the Mayor with the free and sworn tenants of the borough. They numbered about twenty, and these fortunate electors returned two members to Parliament from 1562 to 1832.

At the time when Scrope Bernard became one of its representatives, it was, as already implied, the property of the Marquess of Buckingham.

On whichever side his sympathies were ranged, the handful of electors for St. Mawes—they numbered in 1816 only twenty-two in all, and several of that number were revenue officers incapacitated for voting—were required under pains and penalties to enlist themselves under the same banner.

The two members who retired in 1806 were Sir William Young and William Windham. Mr. Bernard's colleagues during his long tenure of the seat were—Lord Ebrington, George Granville Leveson-Gower, afterwards second Duke of Sutherland, Francis Horner, Dr. Joseph Phillimore, and Sir Codrington Edmund Carrington. When Francis Horner was nominated for the post in 1813, one of the Marquess's agents wrote to him :

that a seat would be vacant in ten days, which would be offered to him without any stipulation, save that of resignation, should his opinions on politics differ from those of the patron, and free

¹ *The Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall to 1832*, by William Prideaux Courtney.

from all expense excepting a dinner to the voters, which would not amount to more than £30 or £40.

Mr. Bernard sat for this borough, 'with a slight break,' until his death, twenty-four years later. His son Francis, who accompanied him as canvasser on one of his election journeys, described the unbounded hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Jago, by whom they were entertained, as being the only severe tax on the constitution of the candidate and his friends.

Other events of course chequered the life of the family during the years which have been noted. The serious illness of Mr. Thomas Bernard in 1804 will be recorded in another chapter, as it occasioned a change in his plan of life. About this time the Diary,¹ or rather Year-book, kept by Scrope Bernard's younger daughter, Mary Ann, becomes of use. After noting her own birth in 1797, the writer proceeds to the events of the year 1805 :

My Greatgrandmother Mrs. Mills died April 10th in her 85th year. We quitted the house in Abingdon Street. My Father left the Banking House of Ransom, Morland & Co. and joined that of Praeds & Co. . . . 1806. Live in a house in Burlington Street, the corner of Clifford Street.

This kind-hearted lady is thus described by her great-grand-daughter, Mary Ann Spencer (Mrs. Glanville when the letter was written), in a letter to her daughter-in-law, Mrs. C. Vere Spencer :

My youthful idea of a Gt Gd Mama is a stout old lady sitting, with a high cap & black mittens, with her hands before her, in the largest arm chair in the room, and giving me a penny when I recollected the Text of the Sermon on Sunday ; and also as being the happy possessor of some delicious candied pine-apple.

William Bernard, the eldest son of Scrope, matriculated at Oxford in July, 1804.² Scrope Bernard's three elder

¹ For some years in the possession of her late daughter, Miss Harriett Frances Spencer, of Oxford, who copied it from the original MS. I am not certain that all was preserved. It is now at Wheatfield, Oxon.

² Foster (Joseph), *Alumni Oxonienses*, being the Matriculation Roll of the University.

sons had been successively sent to school. William, as appears by a very stiff and proper letter, in large handwriting, and written evidently by order, was an upper school-boy at a preparatory school. Whether he was partly educated at any other school I have no means of knowing; his grandparents appear to have superintended his education. That Francis was at Westminster is all I can ascertain with regard to his school career.

Thomas Tyringham, my father, had a more complicated education. I have heard him say that, in very early youth, he was for a short time at Westminster, and probably as a day boy. After that he appears, by an allusion in a family letter, to have been at Shackleton—perhaps Shacklewell near Hackney. He then went to Harrow, whence he was removed by his father, on account of some change of masters; probably the retirement of Dr. Drury, in 1805, was the immediate cause. At Harrow he was for some time fag to Lord Byron. Fagging was then a tyrannical institution, and my father always spoke of Lord Byron as a peculiarly brutal and tyrannical master. The rest of his school-time he spent at Eton, where he was much more comfortable. After being fag to the second Duke of Sutherland, then probably known as Earl Gower, who was of a milder type than his previous fag-master, he became free of that bondage. At Eton he knew Shelley, who was looked upon by the boys, who did not foresee his future fame, as excitable almost to insanity. During his schooldays he wrote very characteristic letters to his father; in one he states that at Harrow every boy in the fourth form had a shilling a week pocket-money, and in another he informs his father that there were ‘three fevers at one time’ in Eton.

The following letter from William Bernard’s mother, describing a visit to him in his second set of rooms at Brasenose, is probably of 1805 or 1806; the only date is ‘Nov^{br} 3rd,’ and the letter is addressed to her husband:

We drove from Oxford last Thursday to dinner—for unluckily my Father did not reach Oxford till seven o’clock on the

Wednesday eveng.—& Willy said that we must not leave the Town till his Grandfather came, as he would be affronted to think we run away just as he was coming.—I found that my father had not heard from my mother when I was to be at Oxford, & he arrived from Cheltenham with a family party—the Williams's & Charlotte Mills & the Brown's, which unfortunately took him to the Roebuck Inn, as their Post Chaises run for a Shilling a mile, & at the Star for fourteen pence a mile, and in a long journey from Cheltenham to London it makes a vast difference in the expence—however we could not have been more together, as my stay was short after he arrived, only that it would have been pleasanter to have met at the same Inn.—I went on the Monday because it only misted, and by then we got to Wheatley it began to rain very fast.—We arrived safe and we spent our time very delightfully, but we found that Willy's rooms were changed & he was at the top in the same rooms that Mr. Barnett used to occupy;—after this term he is to take his choice of rooms which he is to keep as long as he is in Oxford.

I thought him much improved in looks & in great spirits—we took one breakfast & one Teadrink with him, & we breakfasted once with Tom Baker & my father—Our beaus we [so] constantly had with us that we appear'd quite gay.—Mary Ann likes Oxford better she says than London, Brighton, or Winchendon—and she wants us to live there—she was ready to cry when we came away, a thing I never knew her ready to do before at quitting any place.

Mary Ann was destined to pass many years of her life within a drive of Oxford, and ended her days in the University town itself.

The rest of the letter contains some particulars of Winchendon. Will Sherriff, a farmer's pig-keeper, had attempted to cut the throat of little George Cooling. It was desirable that he should find a situation as soon as possible. 'I think his mother ought not to be studyed; *all* say that she's a bad woman, & encourages him to be wicked.' The surprising part of this account is that 'a situation' should be considered desirable for this ruffian—and that at a time when a theft over the value of forty shillings was punished by hanging. The Sherriff family have long since left Nether Winchendon.

In another letter Mrs. Scrope Bernard mentions that she

has drunk her husband's health on his wedding-day, and wishes him and Frank many happy returns of it. The year is not given, but it was probably about this time.

All the news is nothing but sickness, accidents, quarrelling & bad weather—Old Mr. Cooling not likely to live the day out—and Vicary has been to the Justice Meeting to swear an assault against Sally Campbell—Mary Ann has had a very bad finger from the sting of one of your bees. . . . How very late the harvest will be—for it is raining away now at such a rate, being old St. Swithin's day; our Winchendon apples are christening.

The relations with the Cooling family were exceedingly cordial. On one occasion Mr. Bernard, being at Winchendon, apparently alone, as I heard, attended a christening feast held in his kitchen. Mrs. Bernard was there on the occasion of another birth. She spent some time at the bedside, and then, the event having taken place on Sunday morning, she went to church and brought back the clergyman to baptize privately, or, as the expression then ran,¹ 'half-baptize' the child, standing godmother herself to 'Caroline Eliza.'²

Pencils and paints were great amusements to the young people in the country, and a Mr. Jones was their chosen instructor. On one occasion Mrs. Bernard writes: 'I should like him to come directly after next Sunday week, & to bring with him materials for beginning a miniature of my darling Mary Ann.'

Mrs. Scrope Bernard's allusion to Brighton implies that the family had already paid at least one visit there; but it is not till 1807 that I find the record of such an excursion in the diary of Mary Ann Bernard: 'Went to Bath in February, No. 21, Brook Street, and left it for Salisbury on the way to Brighton, the 18th of April.' Her mother's health may have been the reason of these movements; but the visit to Bath does not seem to have been repeated, while Brighton became evidently a favourite place of resort.

¹ And still runs in villages, and even elsewhere.

² Afterwards Mrs. Mew. Died within the last twenty years.

The following year, 1808, was more remarkable. The Diarist writes :

Went to a fête at Stowe given in honour of the Comte de Lille (Louis 18th) and the French nobility. I danced with Mr. Thomas Fremantle.

This gentleman, afterwards Sir Thomas Fremantle, and eventually the first Lord Cottesloe, had at that period not completed his tenth year, and Miss Mary Ann Bernard was about eleven months older. It was then customary to have only one partner for the whole evening.

Julia Smith, the young lady's aunt, has also left a record of this event :

Janry 12 Louis 18, his Brother, and all the other members of the Bourbon family except Beaujolais¹ [*sic*] went to Stowe, Mr^s. Buckingham, on a visit of some days, the house being filled with french & other Nobility—Friday 16 a most sumptuous ball & supper was given to 300 Persons, & they proceeded to Oxford. My son Bernard was at the ball, where everything was splendid and elegant—The Bourbon family helped to plant 4 clumps of oaks, 8 in each, a lasting memorial of their visit to Stowe.

This must have been the occasion on which, as I have heard my father relate, the Marquess of Buckingham greatly delighted Louis XVIII. by his mode of getting over a serious difficulty. Unable to greet his guest by that royal title, which was not then recognized by the English Government, he said, on descending the great staircase at Stowe to receive the King:—‘ J’ai l’honneur de saluer le premier gentilhomme de l’Europe’—which Louis certainly was in point of birth.

The King, Queen, and the Royal Family—that is the Count of Artois, Duke and Duchess of Angoulême and Duke of Berry, in this year took up their abode at Hartwell House; where the Queen died some years later. Their residence here lasted until the Restoration, but, besides sun-

¹ *Reminiscences*. ‘Beaujolais’ should be ‘Beaujolais.’ He was a son of Philippe Egalité, Duke of Orleans, and brother of Louis Philippe. He died young.

dry relics and traditions belonging to the mansion, the chief memorial of this sojourn is perhaps the name of 'Bourbon Street,' in Aylesbury, so-called in honour of the illustrious exiles; though hardly worthy of its grand appellation. The Royal Family and household apparently kept very much to themselves, and had consequently little influence on the neighbourhood.

In this year the break in Scrope Bernard's Parliamentary life probably occurred, since his daughter records: 'Lived principally at Winchendon and Brighton. The following year he took a house in Parliament Street, which the family inhabited for several years when in town.

In the autumn Mr. and Mrs. Scrope Bernard and their daughters paid another visit to Brighton,¹ which, under the auspices of the Prince Regent, was becoming—from having been an obscure fishing town—one of the most fashionable and attractive resorts in England. I have heard that the Bernards received more than an average share of invitations to his fanciful new Palace, the Pavilion, because the Prince was struck with the appearance of their stately and handsome eldest daughter, Margaret, who, in 1809, was in her twenty-first year. But she was not dazzled by the grandeur of the royal circle; her thoughts were turned towards a very different sphere.

'In November,' writes her sister, 'Margaret first met Henry Pigott at a ball at Brighton.' He was a young Irish officer, just returned from active service, I believe. A son of his² told me that Mr. Pigott and his comrades of the 82nd Regiment had hesitated about accepting the invitation to this ball; they were weary and weather beaten, and their uniforms fitter for the battle-field than the ball-room. Finally some of them decided to go, and the enthusiasm which there greeted every soldier was only the more strongly evoked by the manifest signs of their toils and perils. Margaret Bernard gave her heart to the handsome and spirited young hero, and in a very few weeks became engaged to him.

¹ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard.*

² The late General Henry de Rinzy Pigott.

Mr. Bernard disapproved of this attachment, which afforded no assured provision for the future. He was of course desirous to know something of the young man's family and connections, and a letter from a resident in Loughrea, co. Galway, in some degree supplied the desired information. Henry Pigott's widowed mother and two daughters—the third being well married in county Cork—were living in Loughrea. Of the father this correspondent says :

The late Mr. Pigott was Rector of the parish of Dunsandle¹ and held other good benefices. His father was Archdeacon Pigott & nephew or great nephew to Bishop Whitfield who brought him to this diocese from the Queen's County, he being younger brother to Mr. Pigott of Cappard, one of the oldest families of the English settlers within the Pale. Mr. Daly's words respecting them were that from father to son, since they first came hither, their conduct in life had been as respectable as their birth was honourable. Their first introduction into the country [apparently meaning 'county'] was in the year 1750.

This was, so far, very satisfactory ; but it is clear that the two boys Henry and William Pigott had to make their way in the world by their own exertions, and they began early, by running away from school—as it would have been called in different times—to assist in repelling a French attack on Galway. For this service they each obtained a commission in the army without purchase. This was probably in the year 1798. A great-grand-daughter of Captain Henry Pigott writes :

I have the whole account of the invasion of Connaught in the 'Annual Register' of that year with the various proclamations by the Lord Lieutenant, the High Sheriffs, and the 'Provisional Government' instituted by France for the Province of Connaught.

¹ These particulars have been forwarded to me by Mrs. C. Norman, a descendant of Capt. Henry Pigott, and the account is corroborated by a letter from the present Rector of Loughrea, to her mother, Mrs. Walton. The Rector of Dunsandle probably lived chiefly in Loughrea, where he died. In Burke's *Landed Gentry* it is stated that the Archdeacon came from Cork. (See 'Pigott of Eagle Hill.') From the evidence given above it would seem that the family must have been confused with another family of Pigott.

The report was no doubt satisfactory up to a certain point, yet Mr. Bernard was not reconciled to the engagement; he had probably expected a distinguished alliance for Margaret, and the prospect appeared to him very forlorn. Moreover he undoubtedly valued his daughter's society, and was proud of her; the prospect of her settlement in the far west of Ireland chilled his hopes for her and for himself. She had become useful to him in many small matters of business, such as forwarding the right letters and transmitting news with comments, and had assisted him in the heraldic amusements which filled up some of his leisure hours. For music she had considerable talent, which her uncle and aunt endeavoured to develop by good teaching when she visited them at the Foundling Hospital. She sang and played the harp with great taste. Her father had a small harp made for her, and she played to Haydn on his last visit to England, when she was in her sixth year.

Parental authority was law in those days. Mr. Bernard forbade all meetings and all correspondence, notwithstanding that Margaret attained her majority in the month after the first meeting—and the young officer considered it a point of honour to acquiesce.

In a short time Mr. Pigott's regiment was ordered to Spain, the Peninsular War was commencing. It was no doubt at this juncture that the young lady was told she might see her betrothed in front of her father's house, the regiment being on its final march through London. She had become ill from grief, but rose from her couch, rushed to the window, took a last look, and fainted.¹

From that time forth, during a period of over five years, Margaret had no tidings, save the negative information conveyed by the lists of killed and wounded; ² which she always contrived to peruse.

¹ This was told me by an old servant, then known as 'Betsy,' afterwards Mrs. Jones.

² I had this information from her son, General Pigott.

CHAPTER XXIV

FURTHER HISTORY OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTION

Thomas Bernard assists to Form the Jennerian Society—The State of the Royal Institution—Thomas Bernard's Projects—Difference between Him and Count Rumford as to the Administration of the Royal Institution—Fashionable Science—The Original Documents of the Royal Institution—The Lectures of Sir Humphry Davy and Rev. Sydney Smith—Sir Thomas Bernard's Regard for Sir Humphry Davy—Thomas Young—Dr. Dibdin's Lectures on Literature—Coleridge's Powers of Conversation—Later Lecturers at the Royal Institution—The Last Years of Count Rumford's Career.

THE work in which Thomas Bernard had enlisted the services of his sister Fanny was only one of many philanthropic efforts which occupied him during this period. Towards the end of the year 1802, in which the Act for improving the condition of factory children had been passed, Mr. Wilberforce noted in his Diary :¹

Bernard and I busy together about education plan for children of lower orders.

And he wrote the following letter,² addressed, 'Thomas Bernard, Esq., Foundling Hospital,' upon this topic :

Broomfield, Nov. 2, 1802.

My dear Sir,—I have only received your letter this morning, and I hasten to assure you that if you prefer bringing forward the paper on Friday, I will certainly attend ; and I beg you will tell me without reserve what you really wish. The truth is that with friends I am perhaps too open, but then I depend on their being equally open with me ; and unless they are so, I may not act as they would wish me, from believing that they would have

¹ Wilberforce (Robert, Isaac, and Samuel).

² *Life of William Wilberforce*, by his Sons, vol. iii., chap. xvii.

expressed all their mind. I assure you, sincerely, that I am always most gratefully employed, as well as in my own judgement, most usefully, when I am engaged in supporting your benevolent exertions ; and I beg you will always call on me when you have occasion for me ;—doing me the justice, for it is no more than justice, to believe that I shall answer to your summons. Having some morning business to get through, I am very unwilling to go to town, till I fix these ; but if you think these measures cannot be going forward without talking the matter over, I will sacrifice a morning ; for it is an entire morning's sacrifice to me to be at all in London, where I am always in the situation of a horse in a summer's day, on whom the flies settle, the instant he stops.

May it please God, long to continue to us your valuable labours, and bless you, as He has hitherto done, with the invention, the judgement, and the various powers of execution required for enabling you to discharge with effect your difficult services. Accept all this warm from the heart. And if you wish me to attend on Friday, believe me that I shall do it, please God, with great pleasure.

Yours, my dear Sir,

Ever affectionately

W. WILBERFORCE.

In the January of 1803 Mr. Bernard assisted to form the Jennerian Society.

The benefit of Dr. Jenner's invaluable discovery of vaccination as a preventive of the small-pox [says Mr. Baker], though it had been made in England, had been received and extended in Germany, France, and other foreign countries with more attention and advantage than in this. To supply this remedy to the poor, and to watch over its progress and promote its effects, are the objects of the Jennerian Society ; which enrolls among its members a higher class of individuals than is to be found in any similar Society in this kingdom.

During this year the condition of the Royal Institution was a subject of anxiety and consideration. In March 1804 Mr. Bernard suggested the plan of the ladies' committee of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, already noticed. In the succeeding May Wilberforce writes in his Diary : ¹

¹ *Life of William Wilberforce*, vol. iii., chap. xix.

19 . . .—Dinner.—Bernard, Mrs. Stephen, James Stephen, William Hoare, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Thornton, Teignmouth, Cornish, and Macaulay. Much talk with Bernard about Royal Institution and other usefals;—he full of useful, and many of them splendid projects.

Thomas Bernard's time from this date to 1810 was mainly taken up with the development of these projects.¹ But during this period he also lent assistance to Mr. Wilberforce in return for the help afforded him. He joined with him in 1805 for the purpose of re-establishing the Naval and Military Bible Society; and with him, Mr. Bonar and others, in forming the Patriotic Fund. In 1807 he gave his support to the African Institution for the civilisation of Africa and for watching over the execution of the laws for abolishing the slave trade.

Before proceeding to any account of the new schemes the vicissitudes of the Royal Institution claim attention, since it at this time passed through a crisis which threatened its very existence. The adaptation of its original system, which ensued, was, as might be expected, a subject of controversy. I am obliged to borrow my knowledge of this troubled time from two Memoirs of Count Rumford, written by persons who took his side of the question, as I have not found any other account.

In March 1801 Count Rumford wrote to his daughter: 'Bernard says they are crazy about it. It was certainly gratifying to me to see the honourable list of Lords, Dukes, &c., as fifty guinea subscribers. It is a very extensive establishment, and will cost a great deal of money; but I hope it will be an equal advantage to the world, as the labour and expense of forming it have been great.'

In spite of these great names, however, and the large subscriptions, the Institution was evidently unable to pay its way. This is admitted by Dr. H. Bence Jones,² a partisan of Rumford, who wrote the following particulars to Mr. Ellis:

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*, by Rev. James Baker.

² Bence Jones, *The Royal Institution*, chap. ii.

It is very clear to me that Count Rumford fell out with Mr. Bernard and with Sir John Hippisley.¹ The fact was that Rumford's idea of workshops and kitchen, industrial school, mechanics' institution, model exhibition, social clubhouse, and scientific committees to do everything, &c., &c., was much too big and unworkable for a private body, and was fitted only for an absolute wealthy government, and was going rapidly into difficulties which, in 1803, led to the proposal to shut up the affair and sell it off. Rumford, seeing he could not have his way, went to Paris. Mr. Bernard and Sir John Hippisley again took up the Institution, and by Davy's help carried it on, without any workshops or mechanics' institute or kitchen, or model exhibition, but with experimental researches, libraries, and a mineralogical collection, which were, according to Rumford's ideas, for the benefit of the rich, and by no means capable of doing any good to the poor,—the object he had in view in his Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.²

After thus admitting that the Institution was in straits, from which it must either be delivered as best might be, or perish, Dr. Bence Jones gives further particulars to Mr. Ellis in a captious strain. It was going far to assert that none of the researches, libraries, collections, or lectures would benefit the poor, and it was unlikely that Thomas Bernard would be the man to deprive them of privileges; indeed, Dr. Jones quotes from Mr. Webster a statement that Of the workmen to be instructed some were sent by Lord Winchelsea, Sir Thomas Bernard, Lady Palmerston, &c., and when they were thought to be sufficiently instructed, they returned to the part of the country from which they had come, and practised what they had learned and taught others.

This department must have been given up, like others, because it did not answer—probably the working classes were not sufficiently prepared to respond to the opportunities afforded them.

Further on Mr. Ellis says: ³

¹ This name is spelt by Ellis and Bence Jones 'Hippesley,' but incorrectly, as may be ascertained by the *Baronetages* and other books mentioning the family.

² Ellis, *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson*, chap. vii., p. 434.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. vii., p. 439.

Dr. Jones writes to me as follows :

Davy gave a lecture 'on the plan which it is proposed to adopt for improving the Royal Institution, and rendering it permanent.' This gives a general view of the change which took place in Rumford's plan, but it gives no names. . . . I have as yet got nothing more definite except a statement, which I cannot find to quote, on the number of enemies that Rumford made before he left in 1802. But of indefinite corroborating facts there are many. The greatest is that his relationship with Mr. Bernard and the other managers, excepting Sir Joseph Banks, ceased entirely. He wrote to the clerk of the Institution that 'he wished to hear how things went on, for he had no one to tell him.' The day almost that he left, his arrangements were changed, regarding the terms of admission. The thing was done hastily. The great object he had in view of a mechanics' school, workshop, &c., was immediately stopped.

The favourable report he made of the success of his work—a report read after he had almost started—was discredited by Mr. Bernard, and I am much mistaken if the managers did not suspect the accounts 'had been cooked,' so to say, for they called in an accountant. Mr. Bernard says 'Upon the whole the Visitors have the pleasure of stating to the Annual Meeting that they conceive there is nothing that merits censure, and much that deserves approbation.'

But not a bit of approbation do they give that I see. Count Rumford's name never occurs in the minutes of the managers, and they ought to have given him the highest praise, at least for his ideas in forming 'The Rumford Institution' as I shall call it. The Bernard Institution which came after it for seven years, was nothing but giving 'fashion to science,' instead of 'usefulness of science to poor and rich,' which is my motto for Rumford's Institution. But his idea was utterly beyond a private society.

This is of course the whole point. A change was unavoidable. The necessity of parting with Webster, and perhaps others, may have been regretted, as it was by Ellis and Bence Jones, but was unavoidable. According to the last-named writer :

Fashionable science began in 1803, and has gone on up to this day. The support of the laboratory and the proud deeds of Davy and Faraday have saved us from being a lecture shop for 'a number of silly women and dilettanti philosophers'; which was the character given of us when Thomas Young was lecturing.

When Rumford left England in May, 1802, he certainly intended to return. But he never says a word about coming back to his Institution. He keeps up *no* relations with the managers, nor corresponded with any one of them that I can find. For in 1804 he sends a sort of message through the clerk to the managers, about a bill. He sends his regards to Davy and Young, but little more. I had some hopes of getting some correspondence with Sir J. Hippisley, who next to Bernard took the most active part in the Institution, but am disappointed.¹

Dr. Bence Jones further states that

Unluckily no one took any care of the original documents of the Royal Institution. The digested minutes of the business are all that remain. All the living letters that would have told their history are lost.

Many of them, and the most interesting, would probably be sent to the houses of the managers and visitors, and would share the fate of most private correspondence. I have not found any memorials of this time or subject amongst family papers. Count Rumford's letters were burned after his death by his daughter's order.

There is one intimation in Mr. Ellis's book that the Count's disappearance from London at this period evoked some disapprobation. Sir Charles Blagden, one of his earliest and most intimate friends, writes to Countess Sarah Rumford, as she was then styled, on March 12, 1804, concerning her father :

His residence at Paris this winter, whilst we were threatened with an invasion, is considered by everyone as very improper conduct, and his numerous enemies do not fail to make the most of it. He has quarrelled with Mr. Bernard and others of his old friends at the Royal Institution, and they do all they can to render him unpopular.²

The Count became estranged from Sir Charles a little later ; yet Mr. Ellis will not admit that he was at variance with all, but only a certain number of the managers. His

¹ Ellis, *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson*, ch. vii., p. 440.

² *Ibid.*, ch. ix., p. 524.

preference for Paris as a residence was by some persons attributed to the attractions of a French lady ; but the state of Bavaria partly accounts for it also, as well as his annoyance at the check which he had received in England.

The vicissitudes through which the Royal Institution had to pass having been described, its work under the new system calls for some notice ; and the 'Reminiscences' of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin furnish interesting particulars.¹ He was evidently a simple-minded man, with little knowledge of the world and disposed to magnify his experiences ; but they are sometimes all the more graphically told for this reason. His account of the period when, as Dr. Bence Jones asserts, the 'Bernard Institution' flourished will provide some quotations :

The Royal Institution was at this time in great vogue. The lectures of Sir Humphry Davy and the Rev. Sydney Smith attracted large audiences, of which the first of rank and fashion formed a considerable portion. Albemarle Street was regularly crowded with carriages. The whole had the character of a noon-day opera house. There stood Davy, every Saturday morning, as the mighty magician of nature—as one, to whom the hidden properties of the earth were developed by some Egerian priestess in her secret recess. Begirt by his immense voltaic battery—which was as so many huge cubical links of wood and metal, forming a mysterious chain, and giving to the whole a sort of picturesque and marvellous character—the lecturer called forth its powers with an air of authority, and in a tone of confident success. The hardest metals melted like wax beneath the operation. Copper, silver, gold, platina, became in an instant soluble. The diamond was pulverized into charcoal, and oh ! incomparable act, had charcoal been resolved into the diamond ! The tremendous force of such an agency, struck the learned with delight, and the unlearned with mingled rapture and astonishment, and the theatre or lecture-room rang with applause as 'the mighty master' made his retreating obeisance.

I notice only one of the more prominent features of these lectures, which from beginning to end embraced a vast field of science, and became the nucleus of many of those subsequent discoveries which have ranked their author among the greatest philosophers of his time. But for the lecturing room in the Royal

¹ Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, ch. vi., 'Publications.'

Institution Sir Humphry Davy had not sat in the chair of the President of the Royal Society.

Mr. Purkis speaks in terms almost as glowing of the young lecturer :

The sensation created by his first course of lectures at the Royal Institution, and the enthusiasm which they obtained, is at this period hardly to be imagined. Men of the first rank and talent, the literary and the scientific, the practical and the theoretical,—blue-stockings and women of fashion, the old and the young, all crowded, eagerly crowded the lecture-room. His youth, his simplicity, his natural eloquence, his chemical knowledge, his happy illustrations and well-conducted experiments, excited universal attention and unbounded applause. Compliments, invitations, and presents were showered upon him in abundance from all quarters ; his society was courted by all, and all appeared proud of his acquaintance.¹

Another name connected with the Royal Institution is that of the Rev. Sydney Smith. Thomas Bernard was one of the first persons in London to appreciate his talent, and his daughter, Lady Holland, writes, with reference apparently to 1804 : ²

About this time he made the acquaintance of Sir Thomas Bernard,³ who was so much struck with his sense and originality, that he recommended him to the preacher-ship of the Foundling Hospital, at £50 per annum ; which employment, small as was the remuneration, was gladly accepted. Slight as this service was, and probably suggested more for the benefit of the Hospital than for that of my Father, I must still feel grateful to one who thus held out a helping hand to a clever and friendless young man, struggling with the difficulties of the world, and eager to perform the duties of his profession, a kindness which was the more felt, from the contrast it afforded to the impediments most unexpectedly thrown in his way about the same time by others.

¹ Quoted in *Memoirs of Sir Humphry Davy, LL.D., F.R.S.*, by his Brother, John Davy, M.D., F.R.S.

² A *Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, by his Daughter, Lady Holland, with a Selection from his Letters, edited by Mrs. Austin, vol. i., chap. iv.

³ In Lady Holland's *Memoir*, and the Letters published with it, Sir Thomas's name is spelt *Barnard*.

In this passage there is an allusion to the insuperable obstacles experienced by Sydney Smith when seeking leave to officiate in a certain proprietary chapel from the rector of the parish, although it was actually occupied by 'Christians of the New Jerusalem,' and the change would therefore be a gain for the Church of England. On this subject he wrote to Dr. R——, the Rector; his name is not given:

Dear Sir,—If I do not hear from you to the contrary, I will call upon you after morning service on Sunday. I forgot to mention in my letter to you, that T. Bernard gave me leave to make any use I please of his name in the way of reference. I beg you to recollect that the question before you for your decision, is a choice between fanaticism and the worship of the Church of England in your parish; one or the other must exist.

Dr. R—— proved obdurate, and the New Jerusalem Christians remained in occupation.

Some years later, when the Rev. Sydney Smith had become a popular preacher, he was invited by Sir Thomas Bernard to deliver a course of lectures at the Royal Institution:

He took for his subject Moral Philosophy [says Mr. Dibdin]—a subject which, on first feeling, should seem to compose the muscles into unbending rigidity, and to forbid the exuberance of mirth. Paley had established a fame, which alike defied rivalry and diminution, by a work under that express title, and written, from beginning to end, in a strain of gravity, and the closest reasoning. But under the plastic hands of Mr. Smith, this subject was gilded by endless varieties. The humours, caprices, and follies of mankind were touched and treated with infinite power and effect; and now and then the lecturer would come down with a magnificently eloquent passage, or period, which showed the vigour of his conception, and the felicity of his style, and which could not fail to electrify the audience.¹

An eye-witness says: ²

'All Albemarle-Street and a part of Grafton Street were rendered impassable by the concourse of carriages assembled there during

¹ Dibdin (Rev. T. F.), *Reminiscences of a Literary Life*.

² Note to Lady Holland's *Memoir of Sydney Smith*, vol. i., chap. iv.

the time of their delivery. There was not sufficient room for the persons assembling, the lobbies were filled, and the doors to them from the lecture-room were left open; the steps leading into its area were all occupied; many persons to obtain seats came an hour before the time. The next year galleries were erected, which had never before been required, and the success was complete. He continued to lecture there for three consecutive years.'

I was [says Mrs. Marcet] a perfect enthusiast during the delivery of those lectures. They remain, but he who gave a very soul to them by his inimitable manner is gone! He who at one moment inspired his hearers with awe and reverence by his inimitable manner, that his discourses seemed converted into a sermon, at others, by the brilliancy of his wit, made us die of laughing. The impression made upon me by these lectures, though so long ago, is still sufficiently strong to recall his manner and many of the most striking passages.¹

Sir Robert Peel, Francis Horner, Mrs. Opie and others, likewise bore testimony to the thrilling effect of these lectures.²

Miss Catherine Fanshawe,³ author of ' 'Twas Whispered in Heaven,' the famous enigma on the letter H, wrote an ode 'On Buying a New Bonnet to go to one of Mr. Sydney Smith's Lectures: "On the Sublime,"' and sent it to her friend, Miss Berry, to whom it has sometimes been attributed.

There was, in fact, difference of opinion as to the tone and spirit of these famous lectures, which certainly produced scandal in some quarters.

The author of a 'History of the English Church' comments severely on the lecturer, charging him with 'having on the day between Good Friday and Easter Day raised roars of laughter, at the Royal Institution, among the serious penitents of the fashionable world.'⁴ According to this author, some of the lectures had been preached as sermons in Berkeley Chapel, and were made public for the third time in the 'Northern Review,' 'mingled with smart jokes and

¹ Lady Holland's *Memoir of Sydney Smith*, vol. i., chap. iv.

² *Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, by Lady Holland.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Rev. Johnson Grant, *A Summary of the History of the English Church*, vol. iv., Appendix III.

points ' in addition, it must be supposed, to those which had delighted the auditors at the Royal Institution.

I do not imagine that the style of these lectures could have been satisfactory to Sir Thomas Bernard, however much he may have admired the lecturer's talent, but he probably had no power to hasten their conclusion. I guess his feelings from allusions I have heard from my father, who ridiculed the fashionable assemblies thus drawn together. It appears that they were a subject of satirical allusion in the Westminster Play that year, especially as regarded their attractions to ladies.

Of Sir Thomas's intercourse with the Rev. Sydney Smith I have no further notes. For Sir Humphry Davy I know that he entertained a lasting regard.¹ In an essay written about this time he speaks of the young scientist as

A person bearing at an early period of life, the bloom, the flowers, and the fruits of genius ; who having been distinguished even in boyhood for superiority of science, was called to an elevated and honourable philosophical situation at an age when many begin their studies. Courted and beloved as he is in private life, and filling with honour to himself, and benefit to the public, appointments which very few at any period of life might venture to aspire to, I perceive that he retains an undiminished attachment to science and literature, together with perfect simplicity and modesty of manners.

Davy² had been educated for the medical profession, and relinquished it only in consequence of his exclusive attachment to the pursuits emphatically termed scientific. His great eloquence, combined with piety and blameless conduct, inspired the Bishop of Durham and Thomas Bernard with the wish of seeing him in Holy Orders. But he appears to have felt that he had no vocation.³

He contented himself (says his brother) with giving his aid to the cause in connection with science, as is expressed in the

¹ Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, ch. vi., 'Publications.' This essay appeared in a number of a periodical called *The Director*.

² *Memoir of Sir Humphry Davy*, by his Brother.

³ *Ibid.*

following letter to Sir Thomas Bernard, which was published in a newspaper of the day, prefaced by some good remarks on the part of the Editor, on the unfortunate and melancholy disunion between science and religion which had taken place in France.

‘ Royal Institution.

‘ My dear Sir,—Many thanks for your kind letter, and for the interest you take in my public labours. I am never more delighted than when I am able to deduce any moral and religious conclusions from philosophical truths. Science is valuable for many reasons ; but there is nothing that gives it so high and dignified a character, as the means which it affords of interpreting the works of nature, so as to unfold the wisdom and glory of the Creator.

‘ Be assured, my dear Sir, that I shall lose no opportunity of making those deductions which awaken devotional feelings and connect the natural with the moral sense. And I hope my claims to your approbation, and to the approbation of men, who, like you, combine pious sentiments with noble and enlightened views, will not diminish, for it is very grateful to me.’

One other lecturer deserves to be remembered, whose name has not descended to posterity like those of Humphry Davy and Sydney Smith, but who was probably as remarkable a man. This is Thomas Young, a physician, who gave his leisure time to the Institution, but, after lecturing two years, was persuaded by his friends to forsake it and devote himself entirely to his profession. When M. Arago beheld the catalogue of Dr. Young’s productions,¹ he exclaimed that it might be supposed to register the labours of several academies, rather than those of one person.

Of him Dr. Bence Jones wrote : ²

Young was never out of scientific war, and never got the honour he deserved. His is a strange history. He ought to have been the great man of England. He should have given himself up entirely to science. What an unfortunate man he was in the number and size of his disputes ! Whatever he touched led to a fight. And yet he was a gentleman and a Quaker by birth.

¹ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of Physicians and Surgeons*.

² Ellis, quotation from a letter of Dr. Bence Jones, *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson*, chap. vii., p. 437.

Sir Humphry Davy wrote, in a kindlier spirit, of his fellow-lecturer as one who was called ‘“Phenomenon” Young at Cambridge¹; a man of universal erudition, and almost universal accomplishment.’

Had he limited himself to any one department of knowledge, he must have been first in that department. But as a mathematician, a scholar, a hieroglyphist he was eminent; and he knew so much that it is difficult to say what he did not know. He was a most amiable and good-tempered man, too fond perhaps of the society of persons of rank for a true philosopher.

Another person who was introduced by Thomas Bernard to the Royal Institution was Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Dibdin, whose acquaintance he had made through Mr. King. There are some passages in his ‘Reminiscences’² which throw light on its working at this period. Dr. Dibdin was not always favourable to Sir Thomas—as he was when Dibdin wrote—but in this matter, after eulogising Davy and Smith, he bestows almost unqualified praise on his management:

It is, however, due to one presiding or influential person, connected with the Royal Institution to say, that it was mainly owing to his exertions and his judgment that the lecturers just mentioned came forward with such splendid success before the public. I necessarily allude to the late Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., who, of all men with whom I was ever acquainted, had the happiest tact in the management of bodies corporate—divested of the mace and fur gown. It is true, the honour of the establishment of the Institution itself may, by some, be supposed to be shared by Count Rumford; but if these two gentlemen should both ‘divide the crown’ on this point, it is certain that Sir Thomas was the great stirring and influential member of the committees, and that no important measure was thought of being carried into effect without his concurrence and guidance. Under these circumstances, I became acquainted with Sir Thomas Bernard through the introduction of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. King, who in the warmth of private friendship thought that I might succeed as a lecturer at the Royal Institution. I made no hesitation about the choice of a subject. English literature had been, from earliest manhood, the pre-

¹ *Memoir of Sir Humphry Davy, by his Brother.*

² Dibdin, Rev. T. F., D.D., *Reminiscences*, vol. i., chap. vi., ‘Publications.’

dominant object of my studies. What a wide and varied field did it comprehend! Divinity, poetry, ethics, tales, romances, were all enclosed within its circle. I made a rough sketch of its leading features, and, having submitted them to Sir Thomas, it was agreed that I was to be announced in the next bulletin from headquarters. The terms were liberal; but had they been less advantageous, my zeal or ambition would have blinded me to their inadequacy.

The course delivered by Dibdin consisted of twenty-eight lectures. The first was introductory, noting those authors who had written on branches of the subject; and then the lecturer commenced with 'The State of Civilization and Literature, in this Country, previously to the Invasion of the Romans,' and brought the chronicle down to Sir Walter Raleigh. From the headings of the various lectures it would seem that they must have been exceedingly interesting.

Dr. Dibdin mentions Professors Crowe and Crotch, lecturers on poetry and music; Mr. Wood, who contrived to make perspective an agreeable study; and the Rev. Mr. Hewlett, whose topic was 'Belles Lettres,' as speakers to whom he had listened with pleasure and profit. The Royal Institution, or rather, perhaps, a series of essays published periodically under the superintendence of Thomas Bernard, proved the means of introducing Dibdin to one more remarkable man. He says:

It was during my constant and familiar intercourse with Sir T. Bernard, while 'The Director' was going on, that I met the celebrated Mr. Coleridge—himself a Lecturer at the Royal Institution—at the table of the baronet. I shall never forget the effect his conversation made upon me at the first meeting. It struck me as something not only quite out of the ordinary course of things, but as an intellectual exhibition altogether matchless. The party was usually large, but the presence of Coleridge concentrated all attention towards himself. The viands were usually costly, and the banquet was at once rich and varied; but there seemed to be no dish like Coleridge's conversation to feed upon—and no information so varied and so instructive as his own. The orator rolled himself up, as it were, in his chair, and gave the most unrestrained

indulgence to his speech—and how fraught with acuteness and originality was that speech, and in what copious and elegant periods did it flow! The auditors seemed to be rapt in wonder and delight, as one observation, more profound or clothed in more forcible language than another, fell from his tongue. A great part of the subject at the first time of my meeting Mr. Coleridge was the connection between Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton. The speaker had been secretary to Sir Alexander Ball, Governor of Malta—and a copious field was here afforded for the exercise of his colloquial eloquence. For nearly two hours he spoke with unhesitating and uninterrupted fluency.

As a lecturer Coleridge was not without drawbacks. Dibdin observes in a note :

He was not a *constant* Lecturer—not in constant harness, like others, for the business of the day. Indisposition was generally preying upon him, and habitual indolence would now and then frustrate the performance of his own better wishes. I once came from Kensington in a snow-storm to hear him lecture upon Shakespeare. I might have sat as wisely, and more comfortably, by my own fireside—for no Coleridge appeared. And this, I think, more than once.

Dr. Bence Jones states that

In 1810, March 3, Davy gave a lecture 'on the plan which it is proposed to adopt for improving the Royal Institution, and rendering it permanent.' This gives a general view of the change which took place in Rumford's plan, but it gives no names. . . .¹

The writer alludes, no doubt, to the change which had taken place some years before. What was effected at this time must have been the consolidation of the new system.

About this time Sir Thomas Bernard was beginning to ease off from his labours for the public good, and he probably wished to see the Institution settled on a plan, approved by his fellow-workers, before he retired to any extent from its management. It is satisfactory to find that Mr. Ellis, the biographer of Count Rumford, when he is

Ellis, letter from Dr. Bence Jones in *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson*, chap. vii., p. 439.

speaking in his person, and not through the medium of Dr. Bence Jones, vouches for the good work achieved by the Institution after the Count's departure. He says :

The Royal Institution has had an honourable history, and for the most part one singularly free from acrimonious contentions, personal variances, and dividing issues about elections to membership or the choice of officers. In this peaceful and quiet course it has been favourably distinguished above even the Royal Society, which has passed through many severe agitations and many critical periods. The courses of lectures given successively before the Institution by Drs. Young and Dalton, by Sydney Smith, Faraday, and Tyndal, have kept it before the public as acting with fresh vigour among the higher agencies alike for engaging the highest professional talent, and for advancing and popularizing science among the masses. Undoubtedly it has yielded to some modifications of the original design and intent of its founder ; not more so however than to admit of the adaptations which time requires of all organized bodies, and of all institutions working by a code of rules which, because they are admirably adapted to the exigencies first served by them, would become antiquated if they did not yield to, and in fact assimilate, the new elements of progress. . . .¹

Of late years the lectures at the Royal Institution have not been wanting in solidity of substance as dealing with themes which engage the foremost natural philosophers of our times. Sir John Lubbock's lectures on the Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man, delivered in 1868 ; those of Professor Humphrey on the Architecture of the Human Body, and those of Professor Odling on the Chemistry of Vegetable Products, delivered in 1870—are amongst the latest contributions made by profound investigators to the broadest popular advancement in science. Max Müller's two courses were attractive and instructive.²

Other names might be mentioned with honour, both before and after Mr. Ellis wrote, and lectures more directly bearing on the health, comfort, and general improvement of all classes. But with the later development of the Institution it cannot be said that this book has any concern.

¹ Ellis, *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson*, chap. vii., p. 441.

² *Ibid.*, chap. vii., p. 445.

A few lines respecting the last years of Count Rumford's extraordinary career must conclude this chapter.

The obstacles which he had encountered in carrying out his views at the Royal Institution appear to have embittered his feelings towards this country. He was received with honours everywhere in England and Scotland; but he had not succeeded to the full extent of his wishes in the great foundation which was to immortalise his name.

His attempt to settle in Bavaria once more was equally unsatisfactory. Changes had taken place which rendered Munich a less agreeable residence than before. His old friend, the Duke of Deux Ponts, had become Elector, and was soon after declared King, of Bavaria; but the country was really under the orders of Napoleon. Rumford had many opponents, and even enemies, whom the nominal sovereign could not venture to provoke, although he showed the Count much personal kindness; and so his favourite schemes met with hindrances which made it impossible to carry them out unreservedly.

At the end of a period of indecision, partly spent in travelling, Count Rumford resolved on settling in Paris, where he had been much courted and appreciated. Here, after an acquaintance of four years' standing, he married the widow of the celebrated chemist, Lavoisier, a woman of great talents and attractions. In this matter also he met with disappointment; the union proved inharmonious. The couple separated; and the Count's difference with Laplace on the subject of capillary attraction, which evoked the censure of many French men of science, further troubled his life.

Count Rumford's daughter Sarah now returned to him, after a long sojourn in America. His conduct towards this daughter was capricious. He had taken great delight in seeing her recognised at Munich as a Countess of the Empire, but at times he seemed totally oblivious of her claims upon him; and the Countess Sarah inherited his eccentricities sufficiently to aggravate the difficulties of the situation. Eventually she left his house at Auteuil, ostensibly

on a tour of pleasure, in consequence of his relations with a person in or over his household.

While she was away he died, on August 21, 1814, after very short warning, and was buried before his daughter had heard of his death. Delessert, one of the very few friends who were informed in time to attend the funeral, made an oration at the grave. It fell to Cuvier to pronounce his 'Éloge' in the Institute of France. He left an illegitimate son, born the very year of his decease, who became a distinguished officer in the French Army.

So sudden was the end that Sarah long believed her father to be still alive, but to have retreated to some remote spot, intending to live apart from the world and unknown. For this idea there appears to have been no foundation.

CHAPTER XXV

EDUCATIONAL WORK

Thomas Bernard resigns the Treasurership of the Foundling Hospital—Publication of the Last Volume of the 'Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor'—Thomas Bernard's Advocacy of the Cause of Primary Education—Schools in the Parish of St. Marylebone—Bishop Barrington's Memorial in the Diocese of Durham—Controversy between the Followers of Dr. Bell and Joseph Lancaster—Dr. Bell's Benefactions—Endowment of the Training School at Bishop Auckland—Ravages of Small-Pox in the Eighteenth Century—Reception of Dr. Jenner's Discovery—His Resignation of the Office of 'Director' of the Jennerian Institute—Death of his eldest Son.

'DURING the year 1804,' writes the Rev. James Baker, 'Mr. Bernard had been attacked by a severe liver complaint, which he long thought would prove fatal, and which considerably impaired his powers of bodily exertion.'¹

This is not surprising to anyone who had reflected on the amount and variety of work which Thomas Bernard, who in early youth had shown signs of a delicate constitution, undertook in the years from 1795 to 1804. Many of the schemes which he originated, or helped by his vigorous advocacy, still demanded attention and labour, though possibly less than at the commencement. Indeed, it is difficult to understand when he took the rest which his weakened state must have rendered necessary. This sense of failing power seems to have determined him to leave the Foundling Hospital; but when the move was made it seems to have been with a view to a change of work rather than to rest:

The sense of this [says his biographer], and the distance of his residence at the Foundling Hospital from the new plans which he had lately entered into, made him desirous of resigning his office as Treasurer, and removing to the more western part of the

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

metropolis. With this view he purchased a house in Wimpole Street, and on the 16th of April 1806, gave in his resignation. He had the satisfaction of witnessing the success of the plans which he had proposed and supported for the management and improvement of the Hospital; especially in its finances, in which a permanent and increasing addition of nearly five thousand pounds a year was made, during the eleven years he continued Treasurer, by the erection of several handsome streets on the estate, one of which was named after him. On his resignation he was elected a Vice-President and continued so till December, 1810.

It was probably the state of his health which occasioned the withdrawal in 1810; but I do not believe that he ever lost his interest in the Institution, and his wife was certainly in the habit of visiting it until her death. For her it is doubtful whether the change was as great a rest as for her husband. The change from the spacious, yet cosy suite of apartments at the Hospital for the comparatively restricted limits of a London house, with its many stairs—though it be a handsome house, and near the country—was a doubtful benefit, especially as the children formed, no doubt, one of the main interests of her life.

A writer,¹ who has described the parish of St. Marylebone, in 1833, speaks of Wimpole Street as ‘a beautiful, uniform street, terminating in Devonshire Place, which is 72 feet wide, and skirted with splendid mansions.’ The buildings must have been all recent when Thomas and Margaret Bernard moved there. In 1761 another writer says of St. Marylebone: ²

This village if it may still be called by that name, is almost joined by new buildings to the metropolis, and the new buildings this way are increasing so very fast, that it will undoubtedly in a very short time be quite joined, and become a part of it.

That prophecy had, of course, been accomplished before the end of the century.

¹ Smith (Thomas, of Marylebone), *A Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of St. Mary-le-Bone*.

² *London and its Environs Described*; containing ‘An Account of whatever is most remarkable for Grandeur, Elegance, Curiosity, or Use, in the City and in the Country Twenty Miles round it,’ &c., &c., vol. iv., ‘St. Mary la Bonne.’ Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall Mall, MDCCLXI.

One principal work of Mr. Bernard's life—the framework, indeed, of most of his benevolent schemes—came to an end about this time. The ‘Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor’ were brought to a close. The fact that he was no longer able to bestow the same labour on them may have had some influence in producing this result; but it is also probable that, on meeting to discuss the position of affairs, the committee and members arrived at the conclusion that the Society had done its work. It had effected some reforms and improvements, and it had awakened a spirit that was not likely to be easily lulled. As to the work of the future, it is suggested in a postscript, doubtless by Thomas Bernard :¹

The Fifth Volume of the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor being now completed, it is deemed expedient to vary the mode of publication. It is supposed that other means may now be more advantageously adopted, to ascertain and disseminate the true principles of action with regard to the Poor; and to arrange and apply the result of the information already obtained, or hereafter to be obtained, for the benefit and improvement of that useful and numerous class, which must compose the majority of every community.

The reducing of the five volumes of Reports into a regular system, the circulation of some parts widely and effectually among those to whom they may be most useful, and the improving of the whole with such further information as may be collected will, it is hoped, satisfy the expectations of the benevolent contributors to the Society. Various modes will occur of making this information more interesting, and more beneficial, than it can be in its present form. The arrangement of it under heads so as to enable an immediate reference, and the addition of Notes and Explanations where further communications have been supplied, will require time and labour, which we trust will not be unprofitably employed.

The writer then proceeds to suggest a plan for arranging

¹ There is no heading to these concluding remarks, which are, however, found at the very end of the Fifth Volume of the *Reports*, after the Appendices, beginning at page 179 of the Appendix portion of the volume, which is separately paged.

the 'Reports'—with subsequent additions in many cases—according to their subjects, starting with the idea of a selection of those specially adapted to the needs of cottagers in every direction, to be followed by similar compilations of the portions useful to overseers and churchwardens as affording assistance

to the serious and conscientious Parish Officer, of those which may be acceptable to 'Manufacturers and Tradesmen . . . and beneficial to the Artisans employed under them.' In like manner : 'For the Country Gentleman, the Farmer, and almost every other class of our fellow-subjects, something may be pointed out, which may engage attention and supply occupation.'

He concludes :

We are very far from abandoning the original object, which has long occupied our attention. The desire of 'Bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor,' will still supply employment, gratification and anxiety : employment, affording, as hitherto, a constant source of gratification, from the prevalent desire and hope of obtaining the object in view ; and at the same time accompanied by an unceasing anxiety, lest by defect of attention on our part, that should fail, which might have surmounted every obstacle in other hands.

After eleven years of attentive investigation, we shall now proceed in an increased and unshaken confidence that as nothing is wise and prudent in life, but what is honest and just—so, no Measures will ever be expedient or politic with respect to the Poor, but those which directly and necessarily tend to their improvement and happiness.

This farewell is dated December 22, 1807.

In narrating the history of Sir Thomas Bernard in connection with his Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, some topics, less prominently or frequently brought forward than others, have been almost unavoidably passed over. Among these is the condition of prisons and prisoners. I find, indeed, in the list of subjects on which the Society desired to obtain and circulate information, 'County Jails—the means and effects of reforming them.' As John Howard, the philanthropist, twice visited Aylesbury Jail while Sir

Francis Bernard resided in the town, it is possible that Thomas Bernard may have met him. On the second occasion Mr. Howard¹ 'found that six or seven prisoners had died in the county prison of the jail distemper, since his former visit, in the latter end of November, 1773, a space short of a twelvemonth by about fifteen days.' The Governor's son is likely to have been impressed by this circumstance, and when—after Howard's death—it was proposed to erect a monument to him, Thomas wrote to Scrope expressing a hope that he would contribute to the funds.² That he must himself have done so may be taken for granted.

There is, indeed, an account of the 'Jail and House of Correction,' at Dorchester, by William Morton Pitt, in the first volume of the Society's 'Reports,' to which Thomas Bernard contributed two long notes on the diet and the earnings of prisoners. In a subsequent volume there is a paper, by Thomas Clarkson, on the administration of the Penal Law in Pennsylvania; the observations at the end of this paper, advocating a considerable alteration in the English Code, have some resemblance to Mr. Bernard's style. Even if he did not write them, the insertion of the whole article shows that he endorsed the writer's views.

That there are not more articles on such an important subject in the 'Reports' may be explained by the fact that a movement outside the Society appears to have been in progress, which led gradually, but in a remarkable degree, to the reformation of prisons and the diminution of capital punishment, so that the Society's advocacy was the less needed.

The first compilation from the Society's papers appears to have been a volume formed of the many essays on primary education—that is, notices of schools and their management, followed by observations—which had been published in the

¹ *Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of John Howard, the Philanthropist*, by James Baldwin Brown, Esq., LL.D., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, chap. vi. (Second Edition).

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

Society's 'Reports.' To these subsequent contributions must have been added, or some which had been withheld previously, from want of space ; as the number is stated to be thirty-six, and only eighteen had appeared in the 'Reports.' This volume, no doubt, embodied the most advanced ideas of the age on the education of the lower orders.

His biographer observes that the cause of primary education had long been advocated by Mr. Bernard and his friends in the 'Reports' of their Society with great persistency, no less than thirty-six papers having been devoted to this question,¹ beginning with the fourth and ending with the hundred and eighty-fourth, and treating of it in various forms, besides a considerable number of articles in the Appendices, and passages in the Introductory Letters to the third, fourth, and fifth volumes. And he quotes a passage² from the sixty-fourth 'Report,' on the Mendip Schools, as illustrating Mr. Bernard's views on this subject :

Of education it may be truly said that it is the only *earthly* blessing, capable of being universally diffused and enjoyed with an exemption from all inconvenient consequences. I speak of that genuine and well-directed education, which is calculated to fit persons to act a strenuous and useful part in their allotted station in life ;—of that education, which teaches and demonstrates the advantages of early and steady habits of attention and industry, and forms in the heart stable and permanent principles of conduct. It is this, and this only, which, supplying the mind with competent funds of human knowledge, and with just conceptions of man's probationary state in this world, drawn from the sources of Revelation, doth thereby preserve it from the danger and *taint* of infidelity ; that never confidently attempts, and very rarely succeeds, in debasing and corrupting the heart of

¹ This assertion is of course puzzling, not only by reason of the number of the papers, but also because they are said to extend to the hundred and eighty-fourth, whereas the *Reports* in the original five volumes end with the hundred and forty-second, the 'Account of the Bishop of Dromore's Sunday Schools, by George Aust, Esq.' The subsequent numbers are, however, given by Mr. Baker in a note to the 'Biography.'

² *Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor*, vol. ii., No. LXIV., 'Observations.' (Quoted by Mr. Baker in the 'Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.')

man, unless where it has been left *vacant* and *unoccupied*, for the evil spirit to fix his abode in.

Mr. Bernard had undoubtedly acquired much knowledge of his subject—the adaptation of education to the needs and capacities of the lower orders—by his long acquaintance with the habits of the poor and the working of the poor-laws; by his practical experience at the Foundling Hospital, and his frequent visits to such educational institutions, at all bearing on his scheme, as were already in existence. In 1802, as has been stated in the chapter immediately preceding this, he was carefully elaborating a plan of general primary education with William Wilberforce, possibly with other philanthropists also, whose diaries, however, have not been written, or, if written, not published. I have no means of knowing the reasons of the strong opposition which this scheme encountered, but it is quite likely that some of the adversaries altogether deprecated the education of the lower orders, or at least feared that the new school might take too high a flight; while others represented that there was already considerable provision made for primary education in St. Marylebone parish,¹ that it was doubtful whether any further effort was required, and whether funds would be obtained for its support.

A 'Parish Charity School' already existed, originally instituted for children of both sexes, who were lodged and boarded as well as educated. The boys' department had however been given up, been apparently found too difficult to manage, but the School still maintained 105 girls, though much hampered by want of pecuniary aid. There was also another educational establishment for the poor.²

A Day School of Industry, in which were 300 children, was established in Paradise Street in the year 1791; and supported by voluntary contributions, charity sermons, and the profits of the children's earnings; the boys were employed in platting straw;

¹ Smith (Thomas), of Mary-le-Bone, *A Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of St. Mary-le-Bone*, 1833.

² Certain portions of Mr. Smith's account are taken *verbatim* from Mr. Baker's biography of Sir Thomas Bernard; but it contains some additional information.

the girls both in that and needlework. The School of Industry was one of the first that adopted the system of Dr. Bell.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that many leading parishioners should have feared the introduction of a third school, but the benefits of the existing institutions were limited to a comparatively small number of children, and, as they must have been elected, it is highly probable that the most necessitous were not always those who profited by them. Mr. Bernard's project was 'for the general Education of the Poor in the parish of St. Mary-le-Bone, and after considerable difficulty in obtaining a situation for the school, he succeeded in purchasing a house and garden in High Street, on which a handsome and commodious school-room was erected under his own immediate inspection.' The position of this building is fixed by the statement that 'the entrance for the children to the School-Room is in Paddington Street.' How soon I know not, but 'this new institution was afterwards incorporated with the School of Industry, and the whole was placed under the direction of the Governors of the United National Schools.'

In course of time Eastern and Western National Schools were established in the same parish, and, at the annual meeting in 1825, it was resolved that the High Street institution 'for the sake of distinction, should thenceforth be denominated "The St. Mary-le-Bone Central National School."' When Mr. Smith published his account, in 1833, the Duke of Portland was patron and the Archbishop of Canterbury president of the school; the Rector, Dr. Spry, one of twelve vice-presidents; and the school educated about 337 boys and 163 girls; but its finances were not in a flourishing condition. The small number of girls may have been partly owing to the fact of over a hundred being brought up in the 'Parish Charity School'; but as a rule boys have generally been more favoured everywhere in the matter of education than girls. The spirit of the school is described with almost touching simplicity:

It is the object of this Institution to afford useful and reli-

gious instruction to the Children of the Resident Poor, whether Parishioners or otherwise; ¹ and to qualify them for those situations in life which they will be called upon to fulfil. The Children are taught to love and obey God, to honour their Parents, to respect their Superiors, to be faithful to their Masters and Mistresses; to be honest, sober, and cleanly; to control their tempers; to be kind in their deportment to their equals, and civil to all. In a word they are educated in the principles, moral and religious, which the Church of England maintains and inculcates; and the fruit, which these principles, sedulously and constantly impressed upon their minds, have in numerous instances produced, evinces the great importance of the Institution, not only to the Poor themselves, but to all classes of Society.

Mr. Bernard's move into town had brought him nearer to Bishop Barrington, whose town house was in Cavendish Square,² but their schemes of education were discussed more at length in the Bishop's grand old residence at Auckland Castle, near Durham, where he had been in the habit of paying an annual visit ever since the Bishop, on his translation to Durham in 1801, had appointed him spiritual Chancellor. The Bishop, who was a 'Prince Palatine,' and enjoyed a magnificent income, was not unmindful of the obligations it imposed upon him; he was bent on leaving an appropriate memorial of himself in the diocese, and chose one of which the advantage was felt all over England. Mr. Bernard was still battling with the obstacles thrown in the way of the Marylebone School when he paid his visit to Bishop Auckland³ in August 1808, and there

All the arrangements were made for establishing a kind of Collegiate School at Bishop Auckland, not merely for the instruction of young children, but also for preparing the most promising scholars for the office of schoolmasters on Dr. Bell's New System of Education. This part of the plan became indispensably necessary, not only for the introduction of the system into the diocese

¹ According to the system at that time a resident was not necessarily a parishioner.

² Mr. Thomas Smith states that the Bishop's house was next to Harcourt House.

³ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*. This town and episcopal seat are sometimes called 'Bishop,' sometimes 'Bishop's' Auckland.

of Durham, but also for its extension into every other, as the central school in the metropolis was not then established.

A little further on Mr. Baker observes :

The arrangement of the school at Auckland, in August 1808, under the immediate superintendence of Dr. Bell, gave Mr. Bernard an opportunity of studying and becoming acquainted with the new system of education. In his journey to London, he employed himself in describing and arranging in a clear and concise manner the principles and practice of it, which he published in December under the title of 'The New School—being an attempt to illustrate its Principles, Detail and Advantages.' In the concluding article of this publication he endeavoured to reconcile the partisans of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, by stating the merits of both.

Some of my readers (he says) may prefer one, and some the other of the two schools. I shall be most happy if half of the ignorant poor of this kingdom should have the benefit of one mode, and the other half, of the other. Let us dismiss all ideas of vain competition. Enough of time has been wasted in idle controversy. Let us apply ourselves with increased diligence to the duties which the Lord of the Vineyard has prescribed to us. The harvest is great. Let us pray that the Lord will send labourers to the harvest.

A bitter controversy was then, indeed, raging between the followers of Bell and Lancaster. Mrs. Trimmer has been credited with giving the alarm on the Church side, and Southey was a fierce warrior in the cause. Joseph Lancaster was a Quaker, and his schools were undenominational—the only religious teaching, it is said, being the reading of the Bible. But it is to be remembered that a large majority of English were left in total ignorance of religion, and also of morality, and decency, at that time; and that Lancaster was evidently a religious man, after his own ideas, more unselfish and fervent in the cause of education than Bell. Where there were Sunday-schools in connection with the Church, the children must have been able to attend them as before.

Dr. Bell¹ was educated in Scotland, and developed his

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Bell' (signed G. P. M.); 'Lancaster,' (signed 'J. G. F—h').

system from what he observed there and afterwards in India, where he watched the natives teaching their children. He returned to England, and found that Joseph Lancaster was carrying out a system very much resembling his own, in the obscure suburb of London—as it then was called—the Borough. The two leaders are said to have met on friendly terms; not so their partisans—‘The Quarterly’ and ‘The Edinburgh’; the latter, under Lord Brougham, raged furiously. That the Church should uphold its own teaching was not only natural but obligatory, and accordingly it was only a few Anglican clergymen who favoured Lancaster. The two Schools eventually culminated in the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Society—the former the organ of dissent, or rather of undenominational principles; the latter of the Established Church.

The progressive lessons—the classification of the children,—the making a pleasure of a toil,—the softening down of the old system of frightening and scourging,—in short the whole apparatus of economy, expedition, and ingenious method, are common to both institutions; and it is probable that each is, in some respects, a plagiarism from the other.¹

But the monitorial system, which was the boast and glory of both schools, the teaching of the younger children by means of the elder, which reduced the expense of each child to ‘7s. per head per annum,’ after being admired for a certain number of years, was virtually swept away by the New Board of Education, founded in 1846. Pupil teachers were then introduced, but adult teachers are now preferred when it is possible to get them. As to the expense, it is too well known to need any mention.

The life of Lancaster was somewhat sad; he was disinterested but unbusinesslike, and his own people, the Quakers, quarrelled with him on that account. He went to America, where he found friends, but never brought his

¹ Lancaster appears to have been less chary of working on the children’s nerves than Bell, though avoiding corporal punishment. But he may have altered as a consequence of longer experience.

grand schemes to a successful issue on any large scale, and he eventually died from the effects of an accident.

Dr. Bell remained in England and prospered. He appears not to have been altogether a lovable man; but in the atmosphere of controversy, very few persons come out unscathed; and the country owes both these men—Bell and Lancaster—a meed of gratitude.

It has been shown how liberally Thomas Bernard expressed himself on the subject of this controversy; yet Dr. Dibdin, who, in some passages of his writings, admits Mr. or Sir Thomas Bernard's claims to respect and gratitude as a philanthropist, becomes irate on the school topic, belonging, as he evidently did, to the Lancastrian minority amongst the clergy.

The Madras System of Education was a hobby-horse which I thought he rode to excess [writes Dr. Dibdin¹], and no man on the score of '*quantum meruit*' ever was more fortunate than the Scotch schoolmaster who ended his days as a Prebendary of Westminster and Master of Sherborne Hospital—leaving behind a fortune running closely upon £200,000. But his Aberdeen legacy was a noble one.

Dr. Bell indeed left 120,000*l.* in benefactions;² he perhaps received the less credit for this posthumous generosity, that he was supposed to have been penurious when alive.

The writer continues:

I never scrupled the freely imparting my own sentiments to Sir T. Bernard upon the respective merits of the Lancaster and Bell systems. I then thought, as I have always since thought, that too little was done for the former, and too much for the latter—who, in fact, only transplanted the flower, growing wild upon the sands of Madras, to the more congenial soil of this country.

Personally Dr. Bell seemed to me to be 'puffed up' with his knowledge, such as it was. In society he was dry, and sometimes drowsy. His introduction to Sir Thomas Bernard was a fortunate one for him; it obtained him the notice and patronage of the Bishop of Durham, who rewarded him with the Mastership of

¹ *Reminiscences*, chap. vi., 'Publications.'

² *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Sherborne Hospital. At this time the names of Bell and Lancaster were absolutely as those of opposite feuds; but as before the *Lancastrians* got worsted in the end.

The Training School at Bishop's Auckland was endowed by its founder Bishop Barrington.

For the perpetual support of this noble establishment [writes Mr. Baker¹], the Bishop of Durham settled by deed upon four Trustees a sum of money in the funds, producing four hundred and thirty six pounds a year. He also erected, at his own expense, a spacious and elegant stone building on a plan by Mr. Bernard, which was opened for the school on the 26th of May, 1810, being his Lordship's birthday.

The Bishop had then, perhaps, a special reason for wishing to divert his mind by good works from melancholy reflections. He had just lost his wife, and the pleasant society, for which his hospitable home was noted, must have been foregone for a season.²

Sir Thomas's pamphlet on the school was published in an enlarged form, in June, 1812, under the title of, 'The Barrington School,' and another edition, still further enlarged, appeared in 1815.

He had also published, in 1809,³ a selection from the 'Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor,' containing all the articles on Education, thirty-six in number, by himself and his friends, with a preface, in which he dealt with the supposed difficulties in the way of raising money for that purpose :

As to the funds requisite for an universal system of Education, I feel no anxiety. Our endowed Charity Schools, without at all interfering with the original objects, would supply a great part of what is wanted; especially upon Dr. Bell's plan, which reduces the expense of a day school to a mere trifle. At the same time, one cannot too much deplore the timidity or supineness of those who, with a conviction of existing abuses, omit to direct a general

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

² Rev. George Townsend, *Memoir of Bishop Barrington*, prefixed to the Works of the first Lord Barrington, vol. i.

³ From family information.

and national inquiry into the present state of School Endowments, and other Charities ; an inquiry which would immediately induce the parties to bring their funds into action ; convinced that if they omit to correct what is amiss, they might soon be reminded of their duty by the Lord Chancellor.¹

The Prince Palatine of Durham is no more ; the Bishop no longer drives six horses and his 'Golden Canons' four ; the castle of Durham is turned into a University. Out of all the mansions of the ancient Bishops, Auckland Castle alone remains. Neither does Bishop Barrington's College occupy the distinguished position it had of yore ; other training colleges have sprung up. We have our own difficulties, and are apt to forget what others did in former days to smooth the way.

We are, in the present, too apt to forget the ravages committed by the small-pox in the eighteenth century amongst all ranks ; and some of us, in our indignation at the unfortunate results which occasionally follow the careless practice of vaccination, may have lost our respect for the name of Jenner. To revive that respect, it is only necessary to remember that in London, in 1723, one out of fourteen deaths was caused by small-pox alone. In France, in 1754, the rate was one in ten. In Russia, about the middle of the century, two millions perished of this disease. Queen Mary of England died of it in 1694 ; four other crowned heads succumbed in the eighteenth century, one being a King of France, besides three members of the French Royal Family.

In 1721, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu² brought from Turkey the knowledge of the practice of inoculation with the small-pox virus, which to some extent checked the disease. In 1799, Dr. Jenner introduced the far safer practice of inoculating with matter taken from the cow—called Vaccine Inoculation, and latterly—Vaccination.³ But while the knowledge of this preventive of small-pox was gratefully

¹ Murray, *Handbook for Durham and Northumberland*.

² Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*. Article, 'Small-Pox.'

³ *The Life of Edward Jenner, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.*, by John Baron, M.D., F.R.S.

received and scientifically practised in many foreign countries, in England the progress of his discovery was beset by many hindrances. So little was the new remedy welcomed by doctors that in many neighbourhoods Dr. Jenner had to train his own vaccinators—ladies and gentlemen, often of position, many of whom practised extensively and successfully. A Miss Bayley is mentioned as pre-eminent in skill, who had vaccinated two thousand six hundred persons; other ladies came very near her; but, in point of numbers, they were all outdone by the lady whom Dr. Jenner mentions as having vaccinated ten thousand persons.

These feats of unprofessional skill did not, however, tend to conciliate the faculty, and Dr. Jenner was exposed to much vexation from the jealousy of his own profession. The Jennerian Society was formed to support his cause, and founded the Royal Jennerian Institution in 1803. It has been already mentioned that Thomas Bernard was a member of the Society.¹ This required some courage, since the practice of vaccination was opposed, even on moral and religious grounds, by some well-meaning persons. Parliament had signified its approbation, in 1802, by a grant of ten thousand pounds to Dr. Jenner; and, in 1807, a second grant of twenty thousand pounds was voted. Mr. Baker says that Thomas Bernard was 'greatly instrumental in obtaining' this 'by personally urging the propriety of it in a conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.'

But it is quite possible that professional jealousy may have increased in fervour by reason of these grants. Dr. Baron, the biographer of Jenner, writes on this subject: ²

Gentlemen who occupied prominent stations in the metropolis, could not so readily admit the claims of a provincial physician, who held no place in either of the great corporations which preside over medicine and surgery in this country. This circumstance, trifling as it might well appear to unprofessional or unprejudiced men, prevented him from being a member of that very board, which was constituted for the express purpose of

¹ *Life of Sir T. Bernard.* Also Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates.*

² *Life of Jenner*, by Baron.

promoting the practice to which he gave existence. This strange anomaly he would have overlooked, had the office assigned to himself been as efficient as the name implied. The Board appointed him Director, but they soon contrived to let him feel that he was a Director directed.

'It was stipulated' he observes in a letter written on Jan. 16th, 1809, to Mr Moore, 'between Mr Rose, Mr Lucas, and myself, that no person should take any part in the vaccinating department, who was not either nominated by me, or submitted to my approbation, before he was appointed to a station.' The gentlemen mentioned were, the Right Hon George Rose, and Sir Lucas Pepys, President of the College of Physicians. Dr Jenner continued: 'On my reminding Sir Lucas of this, he replied: "You Sir, are to be whole and sole director. We (meaning the Board) are to be considered as nothing; what do we know of vaccination?"' This compact was soon forgotten; since out of eight persons nominated by Jenner, six were rejected by the Board. After much deliberation, he made up his mind to resign his office of Director.

There was much difference of opinion among Dr. Jenner's friends as to the wisdom of this step. Thomas Bernard's opinion will be read in the letter¹ which he wrote on this occasion:

Wimpole Street, 6th March, 1809.

My dear Sir,—I did not expect all that has happened; but from some circumstances which came to my knowledge in November, I guessed that the new Board was to be made an instrument of patronage; I therefore did not augur well of the result. I am glad you have resigned, and have confidence that when the Board is noticed in Parliament, the treatment you have received will be properly censured. It will be material to consider to whom a detail of the circumstances should be confided. I think it will end more for your honour than if they had complied with your recommendation, and you had continued Director. I wish to know when you will be in town. With all my feelings, however, of what has recently passed, I continue so much and so entirely gratified with the honourable and public tribute Parliament has voted you, that I treat this last event, and indeed all the other matters, as trivial, and undeserving either of your friends' attention or yours. The reflection frequently occurs to my mind, that in the great point, the national acknowledgement, there has been entire and unqualified success; and therefore, that in other

¹ *Life of Jenner*, by Baron.

matters, we may very well admit of some things not being exactly as we wish. Such are my sentiments, but not venturing to trust myself, and knowing the value you justly put on Lady Crewe's opinion, I would not answer your letter till I had seen her ladyship. I found her at home yesterday, and as desirous as I am that you should make your mind easy about lesser matters, and not expect the world to be composed of other materials than those experience has found in it. The number of those who honour and respect you is very great, and the adoption of your discovery *throughout the world* has been rapid and successful beyond example. Let us then not be disturbed by two or three envious calumniators, or by a few sinister events. The promulgation of every discovery by which mankind has been benefited has always been attended with similar circumstances; it is a general condition, and must be submitted to.

I shall show this to Lady Crewe before it is sent off. Let me know when we are to expect you. You will find the Alfred flourishing beyond any expectation, and in great request.

Adieu, my dear Sir

and believe me always

most faithfully yours,

T. BERNARD.

No further Parliamentary investigation took place at this period, and Dr. Jenner appears to have brooded sadly over his wrongs. His eldest son was then dying of consumption, and this misfortune rendered any effort at rallying from the mortifications inflicted by his adversaries exceedingly difficult.

On April 1, 1810, Dr. Jenner wrote again to his friend, then Sir Thomas Bernard :

Your letters are always pleasant to me. I was in your debt when you were good enough to send the last, and should have answered it long ago, but for a most afflictive event which has happened in my family, the death of my eldest son, an amiable youth, who had just completed his twenty-first year. This melancholy occurrence threw me into that state of dejection, which renders me unfit to perform my ordinary duties, and I still feel enveloped as it were in clouds, so that all objects wear a new and gloomy aspect. You wish me to come to town; you will find me too torpid to perform any useful offices; and I feel confident that even the cheerful company of yourself and those friends into whose society you have so often introduced me, would at present

do me no service. I bend to the will of Providence, trusting in due time that I shall from this source derive that consolation which no other can afford.

Sir Thomas's answer to this melancholy epistle is not given in the biography; but it is satisfactory to learn that Dr. Jenner eventually rallied; and that, notwithstanding some further bereavements, and occasional attacks from professional opponents, to which troubles the burden of failing health was soon added, he seems to have spent his last years peacefully and not unpleasantly; held, no doubt, in increasing honour by the nation, as the success of his discovery became more and more apparent. He survived his friend Sir Thomas Bernard, dying in January 1823, at the age of seventy.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BRITISH INSTITUTION AND THE ALFRED CLUB

Thomas Bernard's Efforts in the direction of Promoting the Fine Arts—'The Director'—Thomas Bernard's Project for Establishing a New Club in London—Opening of the Alfred Club—The Alfred Theatre—The Powers of the Lord Chamberlain—The British Institution—Benjamin West—Thomas Bernard's Interest in the British Institution—The Painting of 'The Miracles of Our Saviour'—West's Picture, 'The Death of Wolfe'—His Position in the World of Art—Dr. Dibdin's Sketch of Thomas Bernard's Labours.

'PHILANTHROPY,' writes the biographer of Thomas Bernard,¹ 'had been the object of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, and of the various Societies connected with it—Science and Literature—of the Royal Institution. There was still wanting an Institution for promoting the higher and intellectual class of the Fine Arts, so as to complete the circle of those mental occupations which promote social union, check frivolous pursuits, and civilize the mind.'

Perhaps it would be more correct to say that philanthropy was the object of the later as well as the earlier schemes, and that only the form varied. The writer continues :

Mr. Bernard had become acquainted with some extraordinary instances of young artists of great talents irretrievably lost to the country by the want of that patronage which is essential to the existence of the arts. Great efforts were at this time making at Paris, Milan, and in the other parts of Europe to cultivate the Fine Arts, by splendid national establishments, having in view the excellence and superiority of manufactures ; a pre-eminence which is of great importance to this country.

Actuated by these considerations, Mr. Bernard requested Mr.

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*, by Rev. James Baker.

West in April, 1805, to call a meeting of some of the most liberal patrons of art to consider this subject, which was attended by Sir George Beaumont, Mr. Angerstein, Mr. Payne Knight, Mr. William Smith, and the two Mr. Hopes. Mr. Bernard laid before them the outline of a plan which he had prepared and the ground on which he expected success. Great desire of executing the plan, and at the same time greater doubt of success was expressed. It was suggested that, instead of a mere outline, an address to the public should be prepared for the purpose of proposing and recommending the measure. Mr. Bernard accordingly prepared for the next meeting a draft of an address, which was circulated in the following form :

‘BRITISH INSTITUTION FOR PROMOTING THE FINE ARTS IN THE
UNITED KINGDOM.

‘The enclosed is submitted to your consideration by the undersigned who have been appointed a Select Committee to manage the concerns of the Institution until a Committee of Directors is elected. Convinced that the pre-eminence, which the imitative arts attained in certain distinguished periods of Ancient Greece and Modern Italy, was produced, not by fortuitous circumstances, but by great and splendid patronage, and persuaded that our own countrymen are capable of the same excellence in the arts, as they have attained in every branch of science and literature, we solicit that they may be encouraged to consider those excellent immortal examples of the Grecian and Italian schools as the objects, not merely of imitation, but of competition. In a country where native energy is most abundant, we ask that professional taste and talent, and national patronage, be no longer confined to inferior objects, but that our artists may be encouraged to direct their attention to higher and nobler attainments—to paint the mind and passions of man, to depict his sympathies and affections, and to illustrate the great events which have been recorded in the History of the World.

‘The Fine Arts are entitled to respect and reward, not simply on account of the innocent and intellectual gratification which they afford ; not merely because they cultivate and civilize the human mind. In a country like our own, they essentially and abundantly contribute to the national prosperity and resource.’

The address is continued in the same strain, prominence being given to art as connected with manufactures, apparently because this was the most efficacious mode of

recommending its claims to the British public ; and Mr. Bernard's biographer adds :

This letter, signed by thirteen individuals of distinguished rank, talents, and opulence, produced such an accession of numbers and strength as, on the 30th of May, to obtain his Majesty's patronage of the new Society. A meeting was called for the 4th of June, to fix from that day the date of the Institution, and a subscription commenced amounting to between six and seven thousand pounds.

On the 10th of June the By-laws were passed, and a temporary committee appointed to conduct the business and purchase a local situation. On the 29th of June, Mr. Bernard agreed on their behalf for the purchase of the Shakspeare gallery in Pall Mall, and a meeting was ordered to be called for the 15th of July, to elect a President and the Committee.

Two days later, Wilberforce records in his 'Diary':¹

July 17th Bernard called, and dined *en famille*—much talk of his plans. A fine ardent mind.

Mr. Wilberforce, indeed, found that his friend was not so much absorbed in his favourite projects, of which the new Gallery was by no means the only one, as to be insensible to other claims. In this year Mr. Bernard gave him aid in re-establishing² the Naval and Military Bible Society, originally founded in 1780,³ and co-operated with Wilberforce, Bonar, and others, in forming the Patriotic Fund.

In the spring of 1806 the Gallery was opened for the exhibition and sale of the productions of British artists ; this was the second time it had been devoted to this purpose. It was originally built in 1789 on the site of Dodsley's house, for the purpose of containing illustrations of Shakespeare's works.

Mr. Bernard followed up this beginning by issuing a weekly publication called 'The Director'—to which some allusions have already been made—as a vehicle for recommending his projects to the world. It ran through only

¹ *Life of William Wilberforce*, by his Sons, chap. xvii.

² *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*.

³ *Ibid.*

twenty-four numbers ; but these probably sufficed to fulfil its purpose. Of these twenty-four Mr. Bernard wrote seven, and a letter in an eighth number.

He had now moved from the Foundling Hospital to Wimpole Street, and found himself, no doubt, freer than he had been for many years, notwithstanding his new projects. He was therefore able to give his assistance to 'the African Institution for the Civilization of Africa, and for watching over the execution of the Laws for abolishing the Slave Trade.'

The most noticeable of Mr. Bernard's papers in 'The Director,' from its biographical interest, is the memoir of Thomas Proctor, an artist of merit, who had proved a failure in the profession, and whose melancholy career furnished a practical argument for the establishment of the British Institution.

Dr. Dibdin states¹ that the contents of 'The Director' consisted in :

1. Essays on subjects of literature, the fine arts, and manners ; —2. Bibliographiana, or accounts of rare and curious books, and of booksales in this country from the close of the seventeenth century ;—3. Royal Institution, or analyses of the lectures delivered weekly ;—4. British Gallery, or descriptions of the principal pictures exhibited for sale. The publishers were Messrs. Longman & Co., Hatchard, and Miller. The work was completed in two volumes.

As it is now out of print, a short account of its contents is subjoined :

Of the writers of the essays, the first, on the 'State of English Art,' those on the 'Life of Thomas Proctor,' on 'The Drama' (three essays), and on 'Good Living,' were written by Sir Thomas Bernard, who also wrote the concluding essay, being an 'Account of the Author of the Fly-Flap.'

Dr. Dibdin observes :

Sir Thomas's account of these essays of which he was himself the author, is whimsical enough. 'As to these Essays' (says he)

¹ Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, chap. vi., 'Publications' (note).

' though I know the author as well as I know myself, and am on habits of intimacy with him, yet I shall say nothing about him. My affection for him is warm and permanent, and I am in his confidence. I cannot, therefore, persuade myself to reveal all I know of him. To caricature the person of an author, and to advertise his foibles and imperfections, would have too much the air of a modern Editor; and therefore, because he hath offences in him which thou wouldst discover if thou couldst, I shall let him continue, and reserve what I have to say upon this subject to a more convenient opportunity. In the meantime, I beg to subscribe myself, with unfeigned regard and respect, my dear Director, your sincere and affectionate friend, Trismegistus Secundus.

' The Essays on the "Causes which have impeded the progress of Ancient Art," on "The Gaelic Poems in Ireland," and "Parallels between Art and Science," were written by the late Sir Humphry Davy,' continues Dr. Dibdin; '. . . I cannot with certainty pronounce upon the parentage of all the other essays, but I think the late Sir George Beaumont, Prince Hoare, the Rev. Mr. Crowe, and the Rev. Mr. Collison [probably Collinson] were the principal. That upon the "Statue of Achilles" in the vestibule of the British Institution, was by Mrs. Forster, the daughter of the artist who achieved it. Those entitled "Sketches of Modern Characters," "The Walk in London," "The Mirror of Truth," and "The Alarmist," were my own productions; as were all the strictures contained in the department of the "British Gallery." Perhaps it may be unnecessary formally to announce that "Bibliographiana" was also the offspring of the same pen which had executed the four latter essays. Upon the whole I may be said to have furnished the materials of at least two thirds of the Director.'

At this period Thomas Bernard was engaged in another new project, differing in character from any of those he had previously undertaken, but, as he believed, not less urgently needed.

He was [says his biographer ¹] a Member of a Club comprising many of the first literary characters in this country, which met once every month at the Thatched House. At one of their dinners in 1807, he had proposed the formation of a club on an extended scale, appropriated entirely to Literature, and totally prohibiting gaming, and party politics. The only objection made was the impossibility of a Club existing in London without these Cardinal

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

virtues. He gave notice that he should renew his proposal as an annual motion. When he brought it forward the following year, it was received with general approbation; a circular letter was prepared and sent round with the signatures of some of the most eminent and respectable characters in the country. The Club, which was named the Alfred, doubtless after the great Saxon King, was opened on the 1st of January, 1809, in their newly purchased house in Albemarle Street, adjoining the Royal Institution, and it acquired such popularity, that it very soon became one of the greatest and most difficult objects of attainment to secure admission into it, and still continues so.

This was written in 1819.

Wilberforce has recorded in his diary, under the date of February 16, 1811 :

Dined first time at the Alfred—the party kindly made for me by Sir Thomas Bernard—Mat. Montague, Lord Hardwicke, Sir Thomas Bernard, Lord Teignmouth, Master Simeon, Sir John Colpoys, Hammersley, &c. All went off very pleasantly. Sir Thomas Bernard's plan of an Alfred Theatre by private subscription—no promiscuous admission—select plays and actors—all *pour la morale*. To consider it.¹

The succeeding portion of the extract appears to refer to the club rather than to the proposed theatre; or perhaps both may be included as being intimately connected. Wilberforce evidently deprecated clubs as among the dissipating innovations of the age, and saw in a theatre, intended though it was to be a school of virtue, only a further danger.

Perhaps I spoke too freely about it—all cherished social affections, but *nonne*, too luxurious—too much tending to lower down the frame to the world's standard, and unspiritualize its affections? I have no time now, but I will resume. I should fear, in dining there often, both self-indulgence and counter-spiritualizing tendencies.

He nevertheless concludes: 'How truly interesting is Sir Thomas Bernard! God bless him.'

The Alfred Theatre had apparently a very short life. It

¹ *Life of W. Wilberforce*, by his Sons.

must have been opened either in the Alfred Club-house, or, perhaps, in some disused portion of the reconstituted Royal Institution. But there would evidently be immense difficulty in drawing the line between the plays to be allowed and those to be forbidden ; and the views of most playgoers lean so much to the side of indulgence and sensuous pleasure, that a theatre on a comparatively strict basis could hardly be expected to hold its own.

Thomas Bernard would not have felt that he had done his duty had he not made some effort to stem the evil effects of the drama in his day. In the Introductory Letter to the fourth volume of his Society's 'Reports,' he had commented on it, especially as it affected the poor, and, having regard to the objects of his philanthropic efforts in general, it may be assumed that he heartily desired to see the poor attending his model theatre in preference to others which were schools of vice. He writes : ¹

They who are disposed to consider the amusement merely of the higher and middle classes of life, will hardly conceive how much the character of the Poor may be injured by profane and immoral representations on the stage. The many, who occupy the gallery of a theatre, bring with them no antidote against the poison that is offered ; they contemplate the scene before them, with a full persuasion that it is a true and faithful picture of human life and manners. The poor may not perhaps be liable to the infection, which lurks under the supposititious morality of the German drama. But their principles, their language, and their habits of life, are inevitably corrupted, not only by the plays of the profligate age of the second Charles, but by some more recent productions ; and thousands of deluded wretches have been initiated in vice and villainy, and have been brought to a fatal and ignominious end, by the licensed representation of the Beggar's Opera ; sanctioned (as they conceive) by him, who, having power to prohibit, is, according to the legal maxim, presumed to approve.

That authority was, of course, the Lord Chamberlain. A note is appended, in which the extent of his power is made a subject of inquiry ; some persons having apparently

¹ *Reports of the Society B.C.P.* Introductory Letter to the Fourth Volume, addressed to the Right Honourable Henry Addington, &c., &c., &c.

asserted that it was very limited. This Mr. Bernard controverted,¹ and ' after quoting the Act, adds :

This language is reasonably clear and decisive; and the penalty (being not merely a forfeiture of £50, but also of all power to act and exhibit in future) is sufficiently potent and impressive if the Lord Chamberlain should at any time think fit to prohibit the repetition of those vicious and noxious theatrical representations, which are offensive to the ear, disgraceful to the stage, and destructive of all moral principle.

1st May 1804

Are matters any better now ? The form may have varied, but little more can be said. The ' Beggar's Opera ' has been revived even in recent times.

The Alfred Theatre, it must be supposed, failed, but the Alfred Club flourished for some years. Dr. Dibdin writes,² about 1835, of Thomas Bernard :

The Alfred is also another of his institutions for the assemblage of gentlemen, and the convenience of reasonable as well as excellent dinners. The Athenæum, the United Service, and the Travellers' Clubs have doubtless thrown the Alfred into comparative shade, but it could once boast names amongst its members (and may still) of the highest celebrity.

The British Institution had a more noticeable history ; and Thomas Bernard's advocacy of the scheme is so intimately connected with his friendship for Benjamin West,³ the successor of Sir Joshua Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy, that some notice of West is required. Benjamin West was said to come of the same stock as the Earls of De La Warr. His branch of the family was for some time seated at Long Crendon, Bucks, only four miles from Scrope Bernard's country house at Nether Winchendon, and one Colonel West had been a companion in arms of Hampden. Somewhat later the grandfather and father of the

¹ Note to the Introductory Letter of the Fourth Volume of *Society B.C.P. Reports*.

Dibdin (Rev. T. F.), *Reminiscences of a Literary Life*, chap. vi., ' Publications ' (note).

² Galt (John), *The Life Studies and Works of Benjamin West, Esq.*

artist emigrated to America—perhaps by reason of their Quaker tenets; and the boy was born at Springfield, Pennsylvania, in 1738. His precocious talent for art brought him a certain amount of admiration and encouragement even in his own circle, and was viewed with great indulgence by the sect, who gave him a special leave to develop it, as a gift from Heaven, notwithstanding the severe repression of the fine arts which had been generally characteristic of the Friends.

Indeed, Benjamin West was exceptionally fortunate; he was hailed as a prodigy in America, and in a few years supplied with the means of studying art in Italy. He left America in 1760, the very year in which Governor Bernard quitted New Jersey for Massachusetts; it is, therefore, quite possible that the Governor, who was a protector of the sect in his own State of New Jersey, may have taken some interest, at least from report, in the promising young Quaker of Pennsylvania.

In Europe, West was welcomed and fêted in a remarkable manner,¹ when it is considered how little he was known to fame, and that he laboured under the disadvantage of not being acquainted with any continental language. On the other hand he was a handsome youth, apparently of simple and unassuming manners, and was, moreover, regarded as a curiosity, many persons, even Cardinals, believing that an American must be a Red Indian. On reaching England, in 1763, he met with so much patronage that he had no temptation to move onward, and therefore settled in London.

At what date Thomas Bernard first became acquainted with Benjamin West I do not know, but it was with him that Mr. Bernard arranged the preliminaries of the British Institution, and Mr. Galt,² the biographer of West, believes that the artist suggested this idea to his friend on his return from a visit to Paris during the short peace. At the Louvre he beheld an assemblage of masterpieces in painting and sculpture—a large portion, indeed, stolen from other nations—but all tending to show the backwardness of England.

¹ Galt (John), *The Life Studies and Works of Benjamin West, Esq.*

² *Ibid.*

The British Institution was, apparently, one of Thomas Bernard's most popular efforts for the improvement of the English people. In the first five years—from its opening in 1806 ¹—‘four hundred and twenty-four pictures were sold for the amount of twenty thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine pounds fourteen shillings’; these were all by British artists, and a further sum had also been expended in premiums to younger artists.

Upon the closing of the exhibition for sale, a few of the finest specimens of the Old Masters have been offered to the study and imitation of the artists attending in the Gallery; and of late years an assemblage of the best productions both of native and foreign artists from the different private collections, far exceeding anything before seen in this country, has been annually submitted to the public view.²

This was the state of affairs in 1819, when Mr. Baker wrote. But some years earlier, after the first five successful exhibitions, Mr.—then Sir Thomas—Bernard had made a further move. While he acknowledged the merits of portrait-painting—he had been painted by Opie³ while at the Foundling Hospital, and since probably by Romney, who also painted his wife—it grieved him that the English were so behind other nations in historical scenes, and this was probably one reason of his partiality for West, who devoted himself to that branch.

In the beginning of the year 1811 [writes Mr. Baker⁴], Mr. West finished his pictures of the ‘Miracles of our Saviour,’ which he intended as a present to his native city Philadelphia. Sir Thomas Bernard being in habits of intimacy with him, had watched the progress of this great work, and was so much struck with the merit of it, that he resolved to do his utmost to keep it in this country. With this view he offered at once three thousand guineas for the purchase of it; and that price being accepted, he set about to devise means of raising the money by subscription.

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

² *Ibid.*

³ The portrait by Opie is, I believe, now in the family of the late Rev. James Baker, his biographer. The two Romney portraits are at Nether Winchendon.

⁴ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

From Mr. Galt's 'Life' of the artist¹ it appears that he had been asked by some Quakers of Philadelphia for a subscription to an intended hospital in that city; and that, not feeling able to afford a sum in money of any importance, he had offered to paint this picture, called by his biographer 'Christ Healing the Sick,' and it was for this institution that he was painting when Mr. Bernard made him an offer, which he accepted, only on condition that he should be at liberty to copy it for Philadelphia, with such alterations and improvements as he might think fit.

His chief claim to remembrance is nevertheless his 'Death of Wolfe,' by which he effected a much-needed revolution in modern art. The writer² probably alludes to West's determination to exhibit Wolfe, and all other persons represented in the picture, in such clothes as they really wore, and not in ancient Roman costume, which was then considered indispensable. He carried his point, notwithstanding the apprehensions of the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, who all believed that such an innovation meant failure. West certainly deserves some credit for sparing us the sight of ancient Romans at the siege of Quebec; and thus inaugurating a reform in the public taste.

In his later years West had to suffer from the withdrawal of royal patronage, through the fluctuating state of the King's health, which terminated in pronounced insanity. The power of rewarding artists was thus thrown into other hands, and it can hardly be said that the painter was treated with common honesty as regarded past engagements. He, however, trusted to the public, and it continued to support him. In December, 1817, he lost the wife to whom he had been engaged when he left America, and who was brought by his father to England to marry him as soon as he felt sufficiently established in his profession. He survived her little more than two years, dying in March, 1820, and was honoured

¹ Galt (John), *The Life Studies and Works of Benjamin West, Esq.*

² The further particulars of West's life are from Galt's *Memoir*, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

with a grand funeral, and a grave in St. Paul's Cathedral.

It will thus be seen that if West was not all that his admirers believed, he was in many ways a remarkable man. His biographer¹ was mistaken when he said that 'his name will be classed with those of Michael Angelo and of Raphael'; but for some years after his death his pictures continued to command high prices, and his "Miracles of our Saviour" held 'an honoured place in the National Gallery, for which it was intended.' Now, it appears that all his pictures are amongst those sent 'on loan' to provincial exhibitions.²

The terms being thus settled, Sir Thomas wrote a letter to the Marquess of Stafford, Deputy-President of the British Institution,³ evidently intended for publication, as it implies or intimates that they had previously discussed the subject in private. In this he states the chief advantages to be gained by purchasing West's picture :

1. The retaining in this country the noblest specimen of painting which has ever been produced in it.
2. The placing it hereafter in our expected National Gallery, as the standard for any works of art to be admitted.
3. The supplying, in the manner I shall hereinafter state, a very considerable increase to our present fund for annual premiums in historic painting.
4. The inciting of our young artists to excellence, by giving such a public and honourable example of the reward of talent rightly directed.
5. The checking of the disposition to be satisfied with mediocrity, by showing the striking difference between the value and credit of some indifferent pictures, and of this very fine one.
6. The effect produced on the public mind by the exhibition of this picture, in attracting interest, and inducing co-operation, in many individuals who have not yet duly appreciated the utility of the British Institution.

Sir Thomas states that his first idea had been that ten

¹ Galt (John).

² *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*.

of the directors and visitors should raise the money by each giving three hundred guineas; but, on seeing 'names so respectable for the patronage of British Art,' he thought that subscribers to the British Institution might be invited to contribute fifty guineas each before May 1. He also proposed that the picture should be exhibited, and a stroke engraving made of it, by subscription, and went into various other details; the most important being that the picture should be 'the property of the British Institution, in trust, to be presented to the National Gallery, when established; and in the meantime to be hung in the British Gallery, &c.'

In the course of one month, the subscriptions for the purchase of the picture amounted to twelve hundred guineas. This sum, together with the surplus of the produce of the print after all the expenses of the engraving were provided for, was sufficient to complete the purchase money. Besides this, the funds of the Institution were greatly benefited by the number of visitors who thronged the rooms to see the extraordinary production which had been purchased for a sum very far exceeding any recorded in the *Annals of the British Fine Arts*.¹

The copy, or *replica*, of this picture was equally fortunate.² . . . The success which attended the exhibition of it in America was so extraordinary, that the proceeds have enabled the committee of the hospital to enlarge the building for the reception of no less than thirty additional patients.

Of West's high reputation as a painter in his own time there is, indeed, no doubt. Mr. Thomas Smith, who wrote his '*Recollections of the British Institution*,'³ speaks of the picture purchased for it as a 'splendid work,' and an 'admirable picture.' Pilkington, in his '*Dictionary of Painters*,'⁴ has devoted more than eight pages to his 'Life,' more than he allowed to any but the most celebrated foreign artists; and styles a later work, 'Death on the Pale Horse,' a 'sublime composition.' In the recently published

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*.

² See Pilkington, *Dictionary of Painters*. Also the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ Smith (Thomas), *Recollections of the British Institution*.

⁴ Pilkington, *Dictionary of Painters*, vol. ii., 'West (Benjamin).'

'Dictionary of National Biography' it is stated that he was regarded as the founder of historical painting in England, where he had no serious rival but Haydon. The writer continues :

The patronage of the King certainly gave him position ; but the artists and connoisseurs of the day, and the critics also with few exceptions, like ' Peter Pindar,' and ' Anthony Pasquin ' were loud in his praise. Sir Thomas Lawrence, in an address to the students of the Royal Academy in 1823, spoke of his compositions as far surpassing contemporary merit on the Continent, and as unequalled at any period below the Schools of the Caracci.¹

The British Institution was the last scheme of any magnitude, connected with the metropolis especially, in which Sir Thomas Bernard took a prominent part. Here, therefore, I pause to recapitulate his principal labours, in the words of his friend Dr. Dibdin : ²

Of Sir Thomas Bernard, a brief outline, even on the score of gratitude, may be here reasonably expected. He had very considerable attainments—was a very good, as well as a gentlemanly, man of business ; clear-headed in conception, prompt in execution, and I believe that his heart was as benevolent as his head was strong.

The panegyrist then quaintly alludes to those detractors who insinuated that benevolence was not Sir Thomas's sole or even ruling motive :

There are those who might have thought otherwise, and that his extraordinary efforts in behalf of the Poor,—for at one time he may be said to have had half of the Poor in the metropolis nestling under the wings of his patronage—were the effect of mere personal vanity and unsubduable restlessness of spirit. And what then ? ' Personal vanity ' should be made of sterner stuff than this. If Sir Thomas Bernard was hence a vain man, so was Pitt as a statesman and Howard as a philanthropist. Motives are always of a mixed nature ; and there is only One Power, ' to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid,' which knoweth the prevalent quality of such motives.

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, ' West (Benjamin).'

² *Reminiscences of a Literary Life*, by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, D.D., note to chap. vi., ' Publications.'

Sir Thomas Bernard did much and great good as a philanthropist. In easy circumstances, bred up to the Bar—from which profession he had the sense and happiness to retire, after twenty years labour had netted him a sufficiency—he resolved to devote the approaching autumn of life to objects of real practical utility, and he made ‘Bettering the Condition of the Poor’ one of those most essential objects. Howard explored dungeons. Sir Thomas visited drawing-rooms, to lay them under contribution for the support of his avowed darling object. In short, benevolence may be said to have become *fashionable* under his influence.

The antithesis in this passage is somewhat misleading. Howard obtained his knowledge of the miseries and horrors of dungeons by visiting them, but Sir Thomas Bernard certainly did not acquire his intuition into the privations of the poor in drawing-rooms. He learned how to help them by studying their needs in their own haunts, and then entered the drawing-rooms of the rich to arouse in their inmates a sense of the duty involved in human brotherhood. The English upper classes were at that time, as a body, singularly callous to the sufferings of those beneath them. It was Thomas Bernard’s privilege to take a lead in awakening better feelings; as Dr. Dibdin proceeds to narrate:

Great efforts, on all sides, were made, and societies and establishments out of number sprung up to ‘bless our victuals with increase, and to satisfy our poor with bread.’ Seasons of rigorous severity were met and in a manner vanquished. Rumford with his soup, and Bernard with his societies, kept the cold ‘out of doors’ as much as possible, and furnished the ‘rich man’s table’ with abundance of ‘crumbs,’ which were largely distributed to the poor.

His publications connected with the societies were at once numerous and incessant. Nothing escaped his notice. A foe to irreligion and the slave-trade—the associate of Bishop Barrington and of Wilberforce—he strove heart and soul to disseminate the blessings of Christianity and of freedom. With a ready pen, his printed addresses, which might reach thousands to whom he could personally never be known—schools, chapels, hospitals, dispensaries, infirmaries—to how many of these was he known by his exertions and his liberal patronage! The blind, the fevered, the destitute—all became objects of his care. And what he touched

he improved. As treasurer of the Foundling Hospital, that institution attained a healthy tone and vigour such as it had never before experienced. Both preachers and household officers were under his regulation. I will give but one specimen of his powers as a writer on these topics, which I take from his address respecting the establishment of a Free Chapel in West Street St. Giles's,—in the heart of as much depravity and destitution as the 'by-ways' of London contain.

The paragraphs which follow, quoted from the address, having already been given in the narrative of the opening of West Street Chapel,¹ need not be repeated. Dr. Dibdin then touches on Sir Thomas Bernard's literary efforts. The few words that he devotes to 'The Director' have been mentioned; the 'Comforts of Old Age,' a much later work, will be noticed in a subsequent chapter. Dr. Dibdin continues :

The Arts were also greatly indebted to Sir Thomas Bernard, for to him we owe the establishment of the British Institution, on a plan so entirely delightful and profitable (especially that part of it which makes us acquainted every spring with the productions of the Ancient Masters), that every tongue and pen must admit its value.

He proceeds to commend the Alfred Club, in words quoted only a few pages back; and continues :

Sir Thomas Bernard was one of the very warmest supporters, as well as founders, of the Jennerian Society. I have before made mention of his intimacy with the illustrious Jenner, with whom I was in the frequent habit of meeting him at dinner.—His patronage of Dr. Bell is well known.

As regards the accusation of conceit which, according to Dr. Dibdin, was brought against Sir Thomas Bernard by way of explaining his devotion to philanthropic ends, it shows that Sir Thomas, like other people, had detractors—which might have been expected. As a matter of fact, no man appears to have less desired fame as a return for the expense and exertion attending his projects. He generally put other persons forward as the nominal promoters of his

¹ Chap. xvi., The Free Chapel in St. Giles's.

schemes, while he was furnishing them in most cases with ideas, and doing by far the larger portion of the work, besides contributing liberally to the funds. This is one reason why the world has quickly forgotten him. He never puffed himself. I have come across one solitary instance of a dedication to Sir Thomas, profusely as they were bestowed on persons of note in general, and this is a volume of sermons by a country clergyman who was one of his fellow-labourers, the Rev. William Gilpin, of Boldre.¹ The most important passage runs as follows :

We seldom see a person, in the course of a prosperous business, stop short, and say 'I have enough.' We see him still more seldom consider his prosperity as a trust conferred by Providence for the good of others. Still more seldom do we see him engaging in that line of benevolent action, which is amongst the most laborious and the least grateful. Charity is often disposed to open its purse; but seldom to take pains, though a man's time is frequently more useful than his money. We revere the memory of the late Mr. Howard who sought out misery in jails. But misery is not confined to jails. We bless the benevolent heart which seeks it in the dwellings—even in the loathsome cottages of filth and beggary. It was one of the marks of the Christian Religion TO PREACH THE GOSPEL TO THE POOR; and it is surely another to be attentive to their *temporal wants*. Indigence is generally thriftless. Half the miseries of the lower classes of mankind arise from profligacy, idleness, or mismanagement. What a blessing therefore is he to the lower orders of society who by active researches collects the several benevolent schemes of a charitable nation into one point; and by pertinent observations shows in what *various ways* the distresses of the poor may be relieved—how early instructions may induce religious habits—how sloth may be converted into industry—penury into plenty—and misery into comfort—how the blind also, the lame and the aged may receive every assistance of which their condition is susceptible.

Thus, my dear Sir, I have drawn a picture, which I present to you.

All who are acquainted with the original, will acknowledge the likeness.

¹ Rev. William Gilpin, of Boldre, *Sermons*, vol. ii. (Quoted by Rev. James Baker in a note to *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*.)

CHAPTER XXVII

'FEMALE SCRIPTURE CHARACTERS' AND LIFE AT
STEEPLE MORDEN

A Masquerade—Mrs. King's First Book—The Publication of 'Female Scripture Characters'—The Proceeds from Mrs. King's Books devoted to Charity—The Tone of her Books—Her View of Woman's Sphere and of the Position of the Female Head of the Family—The Question of Entertaining Guests—The Supervision of Almsgiving—The Visiting of Prisoners by Women—The Foreshadowing of Medical Women—Mrs. King's Views on Education—Mr. King determines to resume his Duties as a Parochial Clergyman—Dangers of Travelling early in the Nineteenth Century—A Family Gathering—News of Sir John Bernard's Death—Death of Mr. King.

IN consequence, probably, of her prolonged sojourn in London, Mrs. King became a writer of books; to what extent will be set forth in this chapter. Before treating of this theme, it is right to set forth the different phases of her character by transcribing a letter depicting her exuberant delight in the scenes of a masquerade, which only rheumatism prevented her from taking part in, as a chief actor probably.

Early in this year, 1808, her second daughter, Julia Priscilla, married a first cousin, the Rev. Thomas Baker, an event which left Mr. and Mrs. King comparatively free from domestic responsibilities, but still with some young people about them. Mrs. King writes to her sister-in-law, Mrs. Scrope Bernard, in May: ¹

My dear Sister,—I know you Country folks like to know what we gay people are doing in Town, and would probably have no objection to hear of a little of the fun of a Masquerade, which you escaped, and which I am sorry to say I also escaped, being laid by

¹ MS. Letter copied into the same book as Mrs. Glanville's (M. A. Bernard-Morland's) Diary, by her daughter, Miss Spencer.

the heels by a most merciless fit of the Rheumatism, which attacked me just at the wrong time.

Scrope was so kind as to offer a ticket for Lady Buckingham's masked party to Mrs. Martin, Mary White, and myself. Mrs. Martin was engaged, Mary White in the Country, and myself confined as above.—So Scrope allowed me to offer it to Lady Earle and the Miss Ingilbys, to whom it was most acceptable; and indeed they made the most of it, for my name being on the card, Mr. Henry Earle dressed himself like an old lady 50 years ago, and went under my name, and Mr. James Earle added his own name and went as a Quack Doctor. Augusta Ingilby and Lady Earle went as Quakers, and Diana as a flower-girl. Augusta's dress was made up in 3 hours, and was very pretty and appropriate; a very fine Quaker's stuff, with apron, Handkerchief and Cap of very fine stiff clear Muslin; she had a beautiful Mask, and being a very elegant figure and a very clever girl, attracted a great deal of notice. She thee'd and thou'd all the vanity people, and preached such admirable sermons on the wickedness of vanity and amusements, that great enquiry was made who was the fair Quaker, and she concluded her exhortations by dancing a reel with the old lady Mr. Earle, and the Quack Doctor his Brother, and they kept up their mirth till 3 in the morning.

Mr. Earle's dress was what *I* remember, though *you* cannot, a silk sack with long ruffles at the elbow, and triple muslin ruffles, with robins and a stomacher, and an immense long waist, and a high cap with wings and a poke—do you ever remember your Grandmother wearing such a dress?

They all came here yesterday afternoon to tell me their adventures and their pleasures, and to thank me, and desire me to thank Scrope; they said it would be fun and merriment to them for a month to come in Conversation. I assure you in my crippled state I enjoyed the account as much as I shou'd have done the reality. Mary White did not return from the country till after it was all over, and exceedingly mortified at having lost it.

The fun certainly sounds sufficiently fast and furious to startle so serious a person as Mrs. King, but it is evident that it did not shock her, and that Mr. King cannot have objected to this caricature of his mother's people, the Quakers, or it would not have been attempted. As to the persons mentioned in the letter—the Misses Ingilby have been mentioned as often in Mrs. King's care; of the Earle

family I have no further information. Mary White was, of course, Mrs. King's Lincoln niece; and Mrs. Martin must have been Maria Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edmunds. Her husband, Mr. Martin, of Colston Bassett, co. Notts, was M.P. for Kinsale, and a Master in Chancery, either then or later.¹

After a message about Scrope, who was going to Winchendon the following month, the writer of the letter continued :

I have no news yet from the North, which I am very much surprized at; the last account I had from the Bride was from Stamford last Sunday se'nnight, and they must have reached their own home on Friday or Saturday last. Mr. King and I are very quiet after our bustles, having no one to interrupt our meditations but little Fanny Collinson, whom I have the care of during her Mother's absence at Bristol; 'tis a sweet poppet and no small favourite of the old folks.

She was the eldest living grand-daughter. The writer concludes with :

I envy you your sweet shades, notwithstanding my masquerading adventures.

Mrs. King's first book,² entitled, 'Beneficial Effects of the Christian Temper on Domestic Happiness,' was apparently finished in 1807, since it was dedicated to her husband in the following words :—

To the Rev. Richard King, M.A.—This little work, suggested by the pleasing contemplation of the Effects of Christianity on a serious and benevolent Mind, during an uninterrupted Union of twenty-five years, is inscribed by his grateful and affectionate wife, F. E. King.

The date of publication, however, as stated in the 'Memoirs' of the author, was 1809; and then, Julia's marriage

¹ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 'Martin of Hemingstone,' 'Martin of Worsborough Hall,' and 'Martin of Colston Bassett.' (Edition of 1863.)

² *The Beneficial Effects of the Christian Temper on Domestic Happiness*, J. Hatchard & Son. The copy at Nether Winchendon belongs to the sixth edition, dated 1825.

having left her more time to spend in solitude, she had already begun to prepare a longer work for the press.

The 'Beneficial Effects' was a subject suggested to Mrs. King by a treatise of Bishop Porteous entitled 'The Beneficial Effects of Christianity on the Temporal Concerns of Mankind,' in which he had omitted the domestic aspect of the question. Her book, as the title implies, consists of a disquisition on the duties of relatives to each other, and the additional charm imparted to domestic ties by bringing a Christian spirit to bear on the routine of home life.

The larger work which followed was entitled :¹ 'Female Scripture Characters,' and was inscribed to Mrs. White in the following terms :

To a Beloved Sister, as a grateful Memorial of the early Instruction and pious Example from whence her best blessings have sprung, this Work is affectionately dedicated by the Author.

Like its predecessor, the book was suggested by omissions in the previous production of a male author, as shown in a preface, which begins :

The Writer of the following pages feels and acknowledges with pious awe, that she 'stands on holy ground,' and that it may have the appearance of presumption in a female, to take up a subject, which has been already so ably handled, by a pious and learned divine—the late Rev. Thomas Robinson of Leicester. But as he has wholly omitted the Female Scripture Characters, with the exception of two, and they appear to offer useful instruction and valuable examples to her own sex, she has thrown together a few reflections, for their benefit only : which she trusts they will receive with kindness and candour.

Mrs. King's book became very popular as a medium of instruction for young ladies' schools, and a favourite present to girls of the well-to-do classes educated at home. At the

¹ *Female Scripture Characters exemplifying Female Virtues*, T. C. & J. Rivington, and J. Hatchard & Son. Of this work I have three copies of different editions. To the later editions, published after the author's death, down to 1833, a short 'Memoir' is prefixed, probably by her son-in-law, the Rev. John Collinson, and an engraved portrait from an oil-painting by Hastings.

epoch of its appearance it was evidently not considered too didactic—at any rate by parents and teachers.

‘The Beneficial Effects of the Christian Temper’ went through six editions certainly; ‘Female Scripture Characters’ through at least twelve, the twelfth and latest that I have met with bearing the date of 1833, about which time a decided change took place in thought and consequently in literature.

It should be mentioned that Mrs. King devoted all the proceeds of her books to charity,¹ and made it one of her last injunctions that the same system should be pursued after her death. In estimating the tone of the books it has to be borne in mind—although the fact is not expressly stated—that they were written, not merely for women, but for ladies especially—that is, for a class, notwithstanding the existence of certain passages applicable to other portions of the human race. ‘Female Scripture Characters’ was, indeed, written for young ladies in particular, as the internal evidence shows, and this accounts for some severity in its language with regard to the faults of women, without any corresponding rebukes to delinquents of the other sex. In the ‘Beneficial Effects’ the balance seems to be held more even, because its subject is the reciprocal duties of Christians in the domestic relations.

Her view of woman’s sphere now seems in certain respects limited and depressing; but it represents the spirit of her age and country, and, perhaps, even shows it in its best light. According to the prevalent ideas which are expounded at some length in her principal work, any acquaintance with state affairs leads a woman invariably to evil. For this moral the character of Jezebel furnishes an apt illustration; while an allusion to Queen Mary II. of England—then the royal saint of the Church and State party, who overlooked or even justified her conduct to her father—is introduced for the purpose of eulogizing her renunciation of power to her husband.

With active heroism in woman, as exemplified in the

¹ This is stated in the short ‘Memoir’ prefixed to *Female Scripture Characters*.

brave and pure life of Joan of Arc, Fanny King had very little sympathy, or indeed none; but the code of the day may have obliged her to stifle a natural impulse of admiration—especially as the Maid had been an opponent of the English, and therefore met with scant justice in English books of history. But she shows appreciation of the wonderful fortitude displayed by the Mother of the Machabees. And it may be said of her book that it strongly inculcates the devotion of the whole life to a principle of duty, and the cultivation of exalted virtue in and through the routine of daily life.

A few extracts will serve to explain these assertions: ¹

St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, says: 'I will that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house.' All this seems to involve much care and trouble; yet regularity, order, quietness of mind, and above all, to waste no time on frivolous objects, will accomplish much.

The time of a woman is generally cut up by a multiplicity of trifles, such as dress, ornamental work, gossiping, visits, and idle books, which if resolutely excluded from her occupations, she will find ample time for the most extensive domestic duties, without being cumbered and anxious.

The pious and excellent Nelson seems to attribute our deficiency in the one thing needful to the involving ourselves in too great a multiplicity of worldly business. We should be particularly careful to assort our employments to our powers and to arrange them, that all may be done at the right time and in the right manner.

Some persons might have objected that women, being so often at the beck and call of others, would find almost insurmountable difficulties in carrying out this excellent advice. But the author does not appear to have realised the magnitude of the obstacles; she exhorts the members of her own sex to brave the 'contempt and ridicule' which a determination to live in the way they think right may bring upon them from worldlings, without even alluding to the possibility of parents and husbands being on the side of the worldlings. Home is to be made pleasant by arranging

¹ *Female Scripture Characters*, No. XV., 'Martha and Mary.'

'that everything shall move with the quietness and regularity of clockwork,' children to be trained so 'that noise and confusion never shall disturb the house, and nothing be seen out of its place and season.' In short, every disturbing element is to be overcome and annihilated.

In a more lofty strain, Mrs. King proceeds to claim for the female head of the family a sort of domestic priesthood :

It also particularly belongs to a woman to secure 'the one thing needful' to all the members of her family ; at her hands will be required the souls of her children and her servants. Let her therefore by precept and example, establish and illustrate its importance ; let her daily instruct her family, and read and explain the Scriptures to them ; let her regularly assemble them for morning and evening prayers, and lead them to the altar of God to commemorate the Sacrifice of Christ.

If she has happily a husband that will join her in these holy labours, let her receive and possess such a blessing as the greatest of earthly treasures ; but if, as is too often the case, he stands aloof from these important duties, and suffers the cares and troubles of the world more to possess his mind than the one thing needful, let her humbly hope and pray, that in God's good time, it may please Him to touch his heart with His grace, and that the example and effects of religion in his own family may win him to God's fold.

To a person who held such exalted views, the subject of entertainments might be supposed to offer some difficulties ; it has formed a stumbling-block to many earnest minds. The character of Martha affords an opportunity for discussing this question.

In many cases a woman will be called upon to encounter the very cares and troubles which cumbered poor Martha, entertaining guests at her table ; and as this seems a species of duty which the customs of society create, and which Scripture in no instance forbids, I would exhort her to perform it without ostentation or vanity, and from the simple and laudable principle of social hospitality, and she will then perform it with quietness of mind, and without care and trouble.

It is pride, vanity, and frivolity, mixing themselves with everything we do, that creates our cares and troubles and injures

the one thing needful ; it is not quiet attention to business, or the sober enjoyment of blessings.

Mrs. King further observes that hospitality is even frequently commended in the Bible, and especially sanctioned by our blessed Lord. But

how far the feasts of those days agree with the entertainments of the present times, would [she remarks] be worth inquiry, for it might have the happy effect of checking all that constitutes sin in allowed indulgences—ostentation, extravagance and waste. If these defects could be excluded, even the hospitality of the present day produces much comfort and goodwill amongst ourselves, and some benefit to society in general, particularly where the custom exists in many families that keep a regular table, of dispensing the remnants of the day's dinner to the poor, a custom which fulfils, in a degree, Our Saviour's injunction, 'When thou makest a feast, call in the poor, the maimed, the halt, the blind.'

To this paragraph—eulogising a practice which may have been very good in its own time, but would now require to be carried out with great caution, if at all—is appended a note, strongly recommending personal supervision of charities. The recommendation is enforced by an anecdote concerning a friend of the author, who, while he was being shown over the mansion and grounds of a nobleman, noticed a number of poor persons waiting with dirty pails for the accustomed distribution from the great man's table. He remonstrated with them on this apparent recklessness, and was told that the servants were accustomed to fling all remnants, of whatever sort, together into a tub much dirtier than their pails, and that consequently they could only give them to the pigs.

In another place¹ Mrs. King suggests that persons unable to supervise their own almsgiving should make some trusty friends their almoners. She adds words which show that, even in her time, households were a source of perplexity :

And I would particularly warn them against making servants the stewards of their charities ; for the abuse, dishonesty, and misapplication to which this custom will lead is inconceivable.

¹ *Female Scripture Characters*, 'Dorcas.'

Further on she remarks :

Servants, who ought most to reflect what it is to want, are above all human beings the most thoughtless and wasteful.

The establishment and superintendence of soup kitchens, and the sending of nourishing food to the sick poor—from their own tables—are recommended to ladies as appropriate methods of fulfilling our Lord's injunction to feed the hungry. It is also suggested that one day in the week might be set apart to working for the poor, in which labour children and servants should join, and thus assist in clothing the naked. That Fanny King carried out these practices in her own home may be assumed.

On this subject she observes :

The parable of the rich man and Lazarus strikingly exemplifies the effect of wealth on the possessors, and the too frequent neglect of the claims of the indigent on their bounty ; and how awfully does it contrast to our view the final retribution of him who 'received his good things here' and the peaceful reward of the neglected poor man, who patiently submitted 'to his evil things.' It must create in us a fearful dread of 'wearing our purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day,' while the poor at our gate are asking for 'the crumbs that fall from our tables.'

On reviewing the works of mercy enjoined by our Lord, Mrs. King pauses at 'Visiting Prisoners,' and decides that this cannot form a part of female charity, from the improper scenes to which it would of necessity introduce women ; 'but that, short of visiting, they should reflect on the sufferings and vice which prisons present, and endeavour to assuage the one and reform the other.'

About the time when this was written, Mrs. Fry was commencing her labours at Newgate ; but it probably needed her Quaker training as well as her resolute character to render her an efficient instrument in the cause. The wife of a beneficed clergyman was unfavourably placed for the reception of such an idea.

To nursing, the theme of her youthful days, Mrs. King, however, still clung, though it does not seem to have been

then exactly recognised as a fit occupation for ladies outside their own families ; and she even develops in words the idea that seems to foreshadow medical women :

Our Saviour's example extends the duties of charity beyond His precepts ; for, in His own deeds, He added healing the sick, and instructing the ignorant. Under the former head we cannot indeed exactly follow His example, for we cannot heal by miracle or restore the dead to their afflicted friends ; but we may comfort them under their loss, and direct their hopes to that restoration of all things, which shall unite us for ever to those with whom we have here 'walked in the house of God as friends.' We cannot indeed command the sick to arise and be healed of their disease, but we may alleviate their sufferings in various ways, by the exercise of that small degree of medical knowledge, so very easily obtained, which enables us to administer simple and well-known medicines. . . . The most slender capacities are equal to this small part of medical knowledge ; and general attention to the health of the poor will be found to be a species of charity of infinite service ; for, next to morals, health is to them the most important blessing ; more so than even to the rich, since without it they lose the means of existence for themselves and their families.

In describing Mrs. King's life as the wife of a parochial clergyman, her interest in schools has been mentioned, and an extract given from the book now under review, which it is unnecessary to repeat ; but another passage from her remarks on this subject will be appropriate here :

If we duly consider the comparative value of the things of time and those of eternity, and the importance of early habits and first impressions, we must pronounce a religious education the most valuable part of the duty of charity, which we can perform ; and it is now made an easy work, for so much has been written and done in the cause, within a few years, and by a method of instruction which so lessens labour and expense, that even the indolent and parsimonious have no excuse left. Women have now little else to do than to follow the train which is everywhere in motion, collecting the stray sheep of God's fold : books are put into their hands, methods and plans are ready formed for them, so simple in their construction, so easy in their execution, that a duty may become an amusement.

Then, entering into details, Mrs. King describes the introduction of Dr. Bell's system by which the elder children teach the young, and are themselves under training as possible schoolmasters and mistresses in the future ; also the number of books published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Cheap Repository, &c. And then she observes that much more has been written on the subject of charity in general, and that the volumes of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor contain an epitome of the different branches of charity, from which any one can select the particular species of work to which she desires to devote herself ; 'they may very properly be termed Receipt Books for Charity.'

If it be asked how far did one who so strongly advocated the teaching of the poor wish for the higher education of women, it may be answered that neither for poor nor rich did she desire indiscriminate instruction, irrespective of circumstances and talents. She is, indeed, extremely severe on the prevalent fashion of the day in the education of the higher classes—namely, the exaggerated value set on 'accomplishments,' in which not only artistic attainments, but also languages, were included.

The rage for this species of female embellishment is quite a modern refinement ; for in the days of our good old grandmothers a woman's education was considered as complete if she could read intelligibly, and write legibly, her own language. To these were in course added a profound knowledge in household affairs, skill in all the arts of the needle, deep erudition in culinary science, and the valuable stores of information contained in the receipt book. But we must take into account their different habits of life. London was not then the mart of female vanity and display ; a woman's duties and pleasures were confined to the walls of the old family mansion. . . .

I am willing to acknowledge, that our ancestors too much excluded mind from their system of education ; but I am by no means certain that we gain anything, even on that score, by the present system. On the contrary, I think the mind of a modern young is quite as much neglected as that of the ancient housewife ; for she was at least well informed in her own appropriate

duties, of which the now existing plan leaves the present race totally ignorant.

And the author goes on to describe the actual education of women :

Crotchets are beat into heads without ears, pencils put into hands which can hardly be taught to sketch a tree. . . . They are expected to acquire knowledge in a foreign language before they are acquainted with their native tongue, and to read the books of other countries when they have neither time nor opportunity to unlock the valuable library stores of their own. . . . When this work of education is what is called *finished*, the weak, misjudging mother *brings out* her highly accomplished daughter to display her talents to an admiring world, leading her about, in the trappings of fashion, from one scene of dissipation to another, feeding her overflowing vanity with promiscuous flattery, till the praise, pomp and pageantry of this world shut out all thought of the next.¹

She then develops to a certain extent her own views on education, which did not exclude accomplishments, still less solid learning ; but involved selection, judgment, and moderation in secular pursuits, as well intellectual as others.

While Mrs. King was engaged in writing, Mr. King, who had perhaps finished his most important literary labours, was making up his mind to resume in earnest his duties as a parochial clergyman.

The agitation against pluralities and absenteeism had probably roused his attention. Like all other movements, this agitation reckoned numerous opponents, even amongst persons who had no immediate interest in the question. The practice of doing work by deputy, of accepting an office and appointing some underling to perform its functions, generally on a small fraction of the emoluments, had become so thoroughly engrained in the habits of the nation, that it seemed a hardship to single out the clergy for an attack on this point. And many persons asserted that the plan worked well, notwithstanding its questionable fairness and honesty, and quite as well in ecclesiastical matters as others.

¹ *Female Scripture Characters*, No. XV., 'Martha and Mary.'

But Methodism has given 'our respectable Establishment'—as the Church of England was then termed by even many of its attached supporters—a rude shock; and the consequent feeling of danger suggested the necessity of defence—a defence which must consist in earnest persevering labour.

It cannot be supposed that the prospect of spending the greater part of the year in a remote country village was altogether agreeable to a man so fond of literature and intellectual society as Mr. King; but the vicarage at Steeple Morden was unoccupied, and in 1809 he made the final resolve to settle there.

Curiously enough, a letter ¹ from Mr. Collinson to his wife, written at Bristol in the January of that very year, illustrates the delays and dangers of travelling at that period, even on a beaten track, and must have forcibly brought before his father-in-law the disadvantage at which he would be placed in the wilds of Cambridgeshire. Mr. Collinson wrote to his wife, who was at Sheen:

Think of my being too late for the coach,—I staid about an hour and went by Fromont's long coach, a most miserable, tedious conveyance. . . . At Maidenhead we were stopped and people called out 'for God's sake get out of the coach, the waters are out and you'll be drowned!' Some were for getting out, and some for taking our chance. A tall Irishman who weighed at least 20 stone called out 'Stop, stop, honies, I'm after getting out for one.' This decided the business, and we punted it along by torchlight, the water roaring, women shrieking, and so on. One man, after great difficulty on account of his having a pair of new shoes on, followed through mud and dirt. In the midst of our embarkation, we heard a female voice at a distance calling out 'Murder, murder, help for God's sake!' The shrieks came nearer, and at last we distinguished words: 'Help, help, father and brother are fighting, and there will be murder.' The poor girl seemed in great distress and some one went with her.

After all the water was not higher than 3 feet, and it was a plan of the boatmen to get money, as all said, having become very courageous when we arrived in the coach again. Nobody had been at all alarmed, and my friend with his new shoes came

¹ Letter in a manuscript book lent by the Collinson family.

to his old berth upon a man's back. As for me, I was quite warm with punting. . . .

. . . It [the coach] did not go through Melksham, and indeed I thought it better to go on to Bristol, fearing they might be uneasy from Miss Turner's account. Did not get to Bristol till 9 o'clock at night, called at your Uncle's and found my Father and Mother, whom I never saw better both of them. I made a famous supper of some cold beef, which was very acceptable, having had nothing since I left you, except toast and tea at 5 o'clock in the morning at Thatcham. I slept like a rock for 9 hours.

This flood was indeed of unusual magnitude, as appears from the terms in which it is noticed by Julia Smith :

Jan 26, a most remarkable flood at Melksham and many other places, owing to the sudden thaw of a great quantity of snow ; the water rose in a manner never known ; in the evening no carriage could pass, and in the night the bridge broke up one side. No mail came in for two days.

At Bath sixteen lives were lost, and many houses fell down.

About four months later, Mr. and Mrs. King were established at Steeple Morden. The following letters are without the date of the year, but they can only belong to 1809. The first letter,¹ from Mrs. King to her younger daughter Mrs. Baker, is headed, 'Steeple Morden, May 31,' and begins :

My dear Julia,—If you have heard nothing of us since I wrote to you last, you will stare at the date of my letter and will be somewhat surprized to hear that your Father and I are seated in the old parlour, on each side a large wood fire, for the weather, or the place, is cold enough to render it necessary.

I will not say anything about the place at present, for it has been woefully neglected since we left, but look to the future, for your Father is determined to live here, and we are planning all sorts of attractions to make the place pretty. I think it has great capabilities, and when our plans are executed we shall have a most excellent sitting-room, in addition to the old dining-room, and we shall have a very pretty little domain without doors, which, by

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

cutting away trees and converting the moat into a ha-ha, may be made very picturesque and rural—added to which we shall be forty miles nearer you, and our intentions are to come very early next spring, put our workmen in motion, and come on to you, and then finish our business here the end of the summer.

I am much pleased and amused with all these plans, and if it ends with our having a resting-place at one of the livings, I shall be more comfortable. . . .

Mr. King writes¹ with evident satisfaction at his self-denying resolve :

You see I am not like some wicked parsons who have two livings and reside on neither of them—no, no, I am for the clergy always residing upon their livings. . . . Your Mother seems stout and in good spirits ; she says she is afraid she shall grow fat and lazy, as we are here so very quiet, and have every good thing in plenty and perfection.—Our friends and neighbours are exceedingly attentive, and seem glad to see us.

But the return to rural life must have been a trial to the Vicar of Steeple Morden, and even his wife writes less cheerfully to the same daughter a few weeks later, when the difficulty of locomotion had become irksome—even in the summer :

I really have so little to say, that it is lucky the Collinson subject is left, though perhaps on entering upon it I tell you no news as you have probably heard it all from Emily ; conceive how woeful it is that a little wet weather should make us uncomfortable even in the month of July. We were expecting them to dinner, and two hours after their appointment Collinson came in with Henry on his back ; to say he had walked with him so through all the mud for three miles, that Emily, Hannah, and the Baby were stuck fast, and neither they nor the carriage could get on. Collinson immediately set out again to meet them with a horse, and I spent as wretched a two hours as ever I spent in my life ; in the evening in came Emily and Hannah, having alternately carried the Baby and walked every step of the way, ankle deep in mud,—could not mount the horse for want of a pillion, and had twice stuck fast so that they were obliged to be pulled out.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

They stayed one clear day and how to get them safely off again sadly spoiled our comfort; they went by Royston, and Emily wrote me word that they walked there almost all the way, —the postillon would not drive them.—This road grievance, I fear, will be rather increased by the roads they have made for the enclosure, so your Father is going to have a little two-wheeled carriage made that will go anywhere, for our other carriage will be of little use to us here.

Mr. and Mrs. King seem to have paid London a visit, 'for harvest,' as she expresses it. I know not where they spent the remainder of the year, but they were doubtless among the happy party which assembled at the Bishop of Durham's townhouse to hear, in February 1810, the announcement of his bestowal of two valuable livings—Gateshead and Whitburn—on their two sons-in-law, Mr. Collinson and Mr. Baker. Julia Smith, who was present, has recorded the delight of the whole party, especially of the Bishop, who rejoiced in his power of making happy. The same Julia notes that :

The day before we left town was passed in a large and happy family party, seventeen relations, at Mr Morland's—eight Bernards, two Kings, two Smiths, two Whites, two Morlands, Miss Tristram, and two other persons.

Miss Tristram was a grand-daughter of General Barrington, and niece of the third Viscount; she had, a few months before, gone to reside with Mrs. Smith at Melksham.

On the previous January 13, news had arrived of Sir John Bernard's death in Dominica—he had been so much away from England that the event cast only a passing gloom over his relatives; but that year was to be marked by bereavements. Julia Smith writes: 'About the end of February died at Lincoln, Mr. White aged eighty-three, who had married my eldest sister.' If he formed one of the family gathering at Mr. Morland's, he must have departed this life almost immediately on his return home; and there was yet another member of the party doomed.

The bright prospects of both her daughters rejoiced the

maternal heart of Mrs. King, who apparently fulfilled her intention of paying a visit to Whitburn with her husband during the progress of repairs and additions at Steeple Morden. About the end of the summer she wrote exultingly to Mrs. Baker about the birth of another grand-child, a daughter of Mrs. Collinson, at Steeple Morden vicarage, the home at Gateshead not being, it would seem, ready for habitation :

I am devoutly thankful for dear Emily's safety, and now this anxiety is over I don't know how to enjoy myself enough ; I think I never was in better health and so happy as I am at present, and looking forward with much pleasure to your promised visit early in the spring season, February, I hope ; never mind the disadvantageous time for our garden ; you can imagine its beauties in the summer, and you will find the house exquisitely comfortable.

The writer then expatiates on the good fortune of her daughter Julia's husband, and continues, alluding to some intelligence conveyed in Julia's last letter :

Our books also look very handsome, and if they were all together would take as many feet square as the Rector of Whitburn's ; but we have divided them between the two rooms, and have in the drawingroom a very handsome Gothic bookcase, fifteen feet long and nine high, with all our new books. . . .

Thus all seemed peace and prosperity. But, alas ! the cloud was even then lowering which was to obscure this pleasant picture. In this same year Julia Smith enters in a note book : ' October 30. Died at Steeple Morden suddenly, Mr. King who had married my third sister.'

An obituary notice in the ' Gentleman's Magazine ' of December made due mention of Mr. King's staunch principles, his various contributions to literature, his patronage of Mr. Anderson and friendship with Bishop Huntingford.

The dream of Steeple Morden as a home for old age had vanished. Mrs. King had to consider her next move, and resolved on the untried locality of Gateshead, where she

would be close to her elder daughter, and within a drive of the younger. And with this destination in view she began her preparations for leaving the vicarage she had entered for the first time in the early days of her married life, more than twenty-five years before.¹

¹ Worthen appears to have been the principal residence of Mr. and Mrs. King's first years of marriage, but they probably were even then sometimes at Steeple Morden. They had been married over twenty-eight years.

CHAPTER XXVIII

COMMENCEMENT OF THE BERNARD-MORLAND PERIOD

Lord Grenville's Conduct towards Pitt—Catholic Emancipation—The Eythrope Estate—The Old Mansion at Eythrope—Scrope Bernard assumes the Additional Surname of Morland—Richard Scrope Bernard-Morland—Thomas Tyringham Bernard's Interest in Public Affairs—The Detachment of the Nettleham Estate from the Title—Assassination of Mr. Spencer Perceval—Electioneering—The Treatment of Diseases—Mary Ann Bernard-Morland—An Alteration in the Life of the Family—Thomas Tyringham Bernard is transferred to the Bucks Yeomanry—The Riots at Nottingham—Mary Ann Bernard-Morland's Diary—Rev. John Kipling—The Ravages of Typhus.

I HAVE no means of knowing whether Scrope Bernard ever regretted giving up the political career which Lord Grenville had planned for him, with all its possibilities of grandeur; or whether Lord Grenville's disappointment at Mr. Bernard's retirement from public life had cooled his regard for his college friend. For many years I have no record of their intercourse—Lord Grenville, indeed, was immersed in politics; still it is probable that they sometimes met at Stowe, perhaps, also, at Dropmore, Lord Grenville's own country house in South Bucks, famous for the beautiful gardens he and his wife had laid out.

Scrope was still in Parliament, and apparently a hard-working member; though he made no attempt to be prominent there, he took a more leading part in county affairs, and was in both capacities always more or less noticed by the Marquess of Buckingham. Whether he always agreed with the political conduct of the family does not appear in any documents that I possess; perhaps some letters on questions of the day may have been destroyed as a matter of prudence or necessity.

Lord Grenville's conduct to Pitt, whom he deserted in a time of difficulty—although under great obligations to him—to coalesce with Fox, whose opponent he had been up to that time, May 1804, provoked strong animadversion :

'This emancipation from Pitt,' writes Lord Malmesbury on the 7th, 'strange as it may seem, has, I have for many years perceived, been the ruling wish in Lord Grenville's mind. He now throws off the mask, and he does it more confidently as being connected with a strong party ; and any idea of past obligation, or consanguinity with Pitt has no effect on him.'¹

Of course there are questions of conscience which may, sometimes must, supersede other obligations. Such, apparently, Lord Grenville considered 'Catholic Emancipation,' while the King believed that to yield on this point would be legally to forfeit his crown.²

The King's precarious state of health, mental and physical, and the state of the Continent, falling ever more and more under the grip of Napoleon, rendered the situation terribly complicated.

Pitt became Prime Minister again in 1804, and succumbed to troubles, dying in January 1806. Grenville then succeeded him as head of the Government, nominally at least, but in coalition with Fox. The death of Fox in the following September proved fatal to this ministry. Lord Grenville revived the vexed question, and resigned because the King was still determined against any concession. Of course he was again blamed for leaving his sovereign at the mercy of events—it being doubtful whether any strong ministry, such as was absolutely required in such times, could be formed after this break up of 'All the talents,' as the coalition had been termed. The Duke of Portland, however, governed for two years and three quarters, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer Perceval.

¹ *Diaries of the first Earl of Malmesbury*, vol. iv., p. 324. Quoted in Jesse's *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of King George III.*, vol. iii. Note to chap. lviii. Particulars of this critical time may be found at more or less length in all Histories of the time.

² *Lord Malmesbury's Diaries*, vol. iv., p. 22. Quoted by Jesse, *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of King George III.*, vol. iii., chap. liv.

In the meantime, it would seem that Lord Grenville's advanced opinions on the subject of Catholic Emancipation had not injured his chances with the University of Oxford; he was elected Chancellor of the University in 1810, and Mary Ann Bernard notes in her diary:¹ 'Went to Lord Grenville's Inst. at Oxford in July.' On this occasion Mr. Bernard seems to have taken with him as many of his family as possible to do honour to the installation of his old friend, since his young daughter of thirteen was one of the party.

In this same year, 1810, the Earl of Chesterfield commenced the demolition of his mansion at Eythrope and the devastation of its grounds. He was the nobleman of whom Julia Smith in her young days had written a lively description,² when he paid his first visit to Bucks. Soon after that visit he had married, and had probably not since resided much on his estate in the vicinity of Nether Winchendon. It has been said that he took a dislike to the county because he was not appointed Lord Lieutenant; but the fact that he had no ancestral tie to Eythrope may have made some difference. The estate, as already said,³ had come to the Stanhopes through a Dormer heiress; but this fifth Lord Chesterfield, who was only distantly related to the previous Earl and his brother Sir William Stanhope, was not descended from that lady. Moreover, it appears that he also destroyed his Yorkshire mansion Bretby, but rebuilt it in the style of his day. He is depicted in his biography, and also in the engraving which forms a frontispiece, as more like a farmer than a nobleman, so perhaps he objected to the expense of keeping up more than one country-seat; and he was not singular in his want of reverence for antiquity.

Mary Ann Bernard writes to her father, in October: 'On Monday we walked over to Eythrope with Frank, and

¹ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard*. Her second Christian name was sometimes spelt 'Anne.'

² See vol. ii. of this *Family History*, chap. xxix.

³ From Memoranda at Nether Winchendon.

found they were cutting down the trees as fast as possible—the two great beauties are down; the roof of the chapel and some of the staircases are gone.’

I have reason to think that Mr. Bernard purchased some portions of the old masonry of Eythrope House for alterations and additions at Nether Winchendon.¹ Tradition also says that a house in the outskirts of Aylesbury, which became the first Bucks Infirmary, but exists no longer, was built with materials from thence.

Some fragments were left even then. In my youth I once stood on the site of the old mansion, and some stones, nay, even blocks, remained to show where the Dormers and Stanhopes had lived; these were still there many years later—possibly undergoing a process of slow diminution; but, in consequence of subsequent changes of possessors, seem to have been of late years swept away altogether.

Eythrope, under its present ownership,² has assumed a different aspect, fair, indeed, but lacking historical interest.

On February 15, 1811, Scrope Bernard assumed the additional surname of Morland, with the arms,³ by royal licence, in deference to his father-in-law's wish; and the old family name became to some extent merged in this accretion. By the special desire of Sir Thomas Bernard, his godson Thomas Tyringham did not adopt the new designation, but continued to be known as a Bernard only. It so happened that he was the only one of Scrope Bernard-Morland's sons who married.

William, the eldest son of the family, was High Sheriff of Bucks this year, which accounts for an entry in his younger sister's Diary⁴:—‘Attended the Buckingham Assizes.’ Mr. Bernard-Morland had an excessive dislike to serve as High Sheriff, and was thankful to substitute a son at this time,

¹ This statement, and the other tradition, that the Earl left Eythrope on account of the supposed slight put on him, have been told me by inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

² The present owner is Miss Alice de Rothschild.

³ Debrett and Burke's *Baronetages*, ‘Bernard-Morland.’

⁴ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland*. Also Family Papers and the *Baronetages*.

and another in the course of a few years. Otherwise this youth seems to have been little in the county; he was recognised as his grandfather's heir, and had entered his bank; but Francis, or Frank, his next brother, did not come of age till the June of 1811.

Both these brothers exchanged news with their young sister when she was in the country; with William she sometimes corresponded in verse. One of her most noticeable communications is on the subject of Thame Fair, and belongs to the same year. The 'Frenchmen' mentioned are French prisoners, who were long quartered in the little town.

Friday last was Thame fair where we spent the whole day,
And brought a few elegant trifles away.
A great number of stalls but of visitors few,
Messrs. Turner and Glen were the only we knew.
There were Frenchmen around us, all sizes and shapes;
Mr. Polito brought there his lions and apes.
The Pope in his robes came to visit the fair,
With stars on his mitre and white locks of hair.¹

The Pope, if really brought on the scene, was no doubt represented as an object of sympathy. He had been imprisoned by Napoleon, and this treatment had much modified the national dislike of his office and position.

It is curious that there is an allusion in a letter to an expected visit of one of Mrs. Bernard-Morland's lady friends to Cuddington Feast,² which appears to have been held a little later, and was probably, at that date, a very rowdy scene of brawling and prize-fighting. But perhaps these amusements did not begin till the ladies had left.

The saddest event of 1811 was the second, or perhaps third, departure of the youngest son, Richard Scrope Bernard-Morland, from England. His sister writes, many years later, in an obituary notice:³

Poor Richard was of a disposition which made him unable to

¹ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.*

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

³ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.*

pass through the storms of life with common tranquillity. He was ambitious and placed his ideas of happiness in objects beyond his grasp. Yet he had good principles, and was of an affectionate disposition. He first tried the life of a Sailor, and served as a Midshipman under Capt Scott in the *Sea Horse* and Capt Griffith in the *Dragon*; but disliking this service, he obtained a Cadetship in India, in the Bengal Artillery, which he joined in 1811.

Apparently Richard was a sensitive youth, totally unfitted for the rough and even brutal life of the navy at that period; he was probably much attached to his mother, as indeed all the children were, and deeply felt being the one to be cut off from all family ties, although he seems occasionally to have enjoyed his life in the army. His mother he never saw again after his departure for India, to which he had submitted with reluctance. The reason for condemning him to this complete isolation, as it then was, may have been a want of business capacity, which rendered the choice of the army or navy, as a profession, almost a matter of necessity.

Thomas Tyringham, who had caught the martial ardour of the times, and would have been only too glad to enter the army, was destined by his father for another career. His interest in public affairs was early described by Mary Ann in a rhymed epistle to William, of September 1809:¹

'Tother day when into an island we went
To prune and to lop the young trees our intent,
Tom, politic mad, thought when entering in,
The port was called Flushing and place Walcheren.

The island must have been one on the small river Thame at Winchendon; but September was full early to lop the trees. Perhaps the young people were under orders to quit Bucks for Brighton speedily, and wished to complete their work while they could.

Thomas Tyringham Bernard matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in February 1810;² but remained there only

¹ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.*

² Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses.*

two years. The life of the University was evidently congenial to him, but his father decided to remove him on the pretext that the impediment of stammering, from which he certainly suffered, rendered his further stay there useless. Mr. Bernard-Morland got his son's tutor to endorse this view;¹ though, judging from all that Thomas accomplished in after years, despite that hindrance, its correctness is doubtful. The young man himself thought that his father wished to make him useful in banking at once, believing, no doubt, that he had abilities for that kind of business. It is certain that he was made a partner in the Buckingham Bank forthwith. His military taste found no better outlet at this time than a commission in the Bucks local Militia, which he probably entered while at Oxford, or even earlier.² It had, I believe, been formed in consequence of the established Bucks Militia having volunteered to serve abroad.

Some few years previously, the portraits³ of the three brothers must have been painted; for Richard is represented in his blue naval uniform. Thomas is in the scarlet uniform of the local Militia, and Francis, who was probably in the Yeomanry, in green. These portraits are fair but not great works of art, and the name of the artist seems to have been forgotten; but they are probably good likenesses, and therefore of interest to the family.

Apparently the death of Sir John Bernard had terminated the lease of the Nettleham property—his being presumably the last of the three lives for which the lease was granted. About forty acres had been re-granted as freehold,⁴ and now belonged, it would seem, to Sir Thomas and his brother Scrope. The whole was so small an affair that it would appear at first sight to have occasioned an unnecessary amount of fuss. But the question

¹ In a MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² Family Papers at Nether Winchendon.

³ These portraits seem to have been first at Kimble; after Sir Scrope Bernard-Morland's death they were long the property of his daughter, Mary Ann; then Mrs. Spencer, of Wheatfield, Oxon, and her descendants; and have only recently been removed to Nether Winchendon.

⁴ See vol. ii., chap. xxix.

of the territorial designation attached to the baronetcy was involved, as a matter of sentiment, in the decision whether the land should be retained or not. The renewal of the lease involved a fine—perhaps a heavy one; the retention of the freehold meant the loss of any money that it might have fetched, after allowing for the rent. I nowhere find any clear statement of the case; but the situation called forth a sympathetic letter from Julia to Scrope. The allusion to Miss Adair fixes the date as not earlier than 1812, in the January of which year she died.

May 1st.

My dear Brother,—I am truly concerned and enter into your feelings on the prospect of Nettleham being detached from the title; it is indeed a pity. Could not Mr. Morland assist you to secure it in the Family, as he is in a manner concerned with the estate annexed going with the title? I should have thought that the property which came in from Miss Adair would have obviated the necessity of selling. Still it is not quite as if it was an old family seat of centuries. You must consider Winchendon as annexed to your title, if you have it.¹

Probably Thomas Bernard was against retaining any, and Scrope wished to retain the land—their views on the land question generally differed; but it would seem that, although the lease was not renewed, the freehold remained in the family until 1832, when it no doubt passed into other hands, with many other things besides.

The death of Miss Adair, only sister of Sir Thomas Bernard's wife, was, it will be seen, the beginning of trouble in that branch of the family. She was carefully and tenderly nursed by Margaret Lady Bernard through her long illness; with the result that anxiety and fatigue undermined the health of the surviving sister,² who from that time began to fail. Sir Thomas was also feeling the approach of age—prematurely, perhaps, by reason of his indefatigable exertions. The home of Mr. and Mrs. Morland

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

was at this time a more cheerful scene, although they were some years older than the Bernards. Mary Ann Bernard-Morland writes in her diary :

April 29th.—My Grandfather and Grandmother kept their 51st wedding-day having been married fifty years.

The transcriber of the diary remarks that the expression 'golden wedding' was not then used in England.

About a fortnight later, on the evening of May 12, Mrs. Bernard and her son Thomas were standing at the window of the house in Parliament Street, watching the members as they passed on their way to the House of Commons.¹ But they gazed, of course, with especial interest on the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, who sped on unconscious of doom. It seemed to them as if scarce a quarter of an hour had elapsed when a startling report was bandied about, more positive than an ordinary rumour, of his assassination at the moment of entering the Lobby of the House. This event made a lifelong impression on the young man who stood by his mother on that memorable day. Mrs. Bernard-Morland wrote to her husband on the 19th :

Mr. Groves made a very pathetic sermon on Sunday on the death of Mr. Perceval, and the pulpit was hung with black.²

This statement referred either to St. James's Church or to Duke Street Chapel, both of which the writer frequented ; but the latter perhaps more regularly.

In the autumn of this year preparations were made, but on a modest scale, for celebrating the twenty-first birthday of Thomas Tyringham Bernard at Nether Winchendon ; from which circumstance it may be concluded that his father had determined on making him his successor there. Mrs. Bernard-Morland writes, on September 6, from Winchendon ³ to her husband, who was in town, thanking him for some oysters and fruit he had sent by her son Frank for her own enjoyment. 'One of the melons would probably keep till the 15th.'

¹ This circumstance I have heard from my father himself.

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

³ *Ibid.*

On the question of further supplies she writes: 'Should you buy any fish, some fish sauce will be necessary, as we have none here, and I think *a large cake*, for we cannot get them so large or so good as in town.' Then follow—a request for spoons left at the town house, and arrangements for accommodating an unusual number of guests.

Mrs. Cooling, who was then located at a farmhouse in the village, had a bed at their disposal, but she objected to sending to the Manor House; 'she don't like taking down a bed because it is apt to get torn.' Two servants were to be sent to Collins's—that is, the Bear Inn.

A letter from Mr. Box, of Buckingham,¹ regretting his inability to be present, shows that he was invited; otherwise I have no details as to the guests or extent of the festivities.

Later in the year Mr. Bernard-Morland determined on sending his three elder sons—the three, that is, who were of age and in England—to Lincoln to take out their freedom as sons of a freeman. Thomas, the youngest of the three, had just come of age on September 15, and there was an election impending at Lincoln as elsewhere. A fortnight after, William wrote to his father as follows:²

Branston, 28 Sept.

My dear Father,—We arrived at Lincoln very safe at the White Hart on Friday evening at 7 o'clock, after sleeping at Alconberry Hill; we saw Mr. Kayworth³ and received by his conveyance Tom's certificate and the Gazette to certify the alteration of the name, but he said it would be necessary to have Mr. White to prove I and Frank were the elder, and we were writing to him when he came; however we got through it very well. The Court did not open till five, and my cousin White actually forced us off to Branston after it to dinner at eight o'clock, where we have been most hospitably received ever since.

We breakfasted with Mrs Brown on Sunday and went to the Cathedral; they are uncommonly civil; and nothing more remains but the election; Charles White came down with Lord Buckinghamshire, and he said nothing about it.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

³ The name, as will be seen, is subsequently spelt also 'Keyworth' and Keywood.'

Francis Bernard-Morland's account is more diffusive and circumstantial. After an elaborate preface he continues : ¹

Having set off from Winchendon on Thursday, we passed through Wooburn, Ampthill Stafford Eaton & Slept at Alconbury Hill, as directed by my Aunt White. At 6 o'clock next morning we set off for Peterborough, when we breakfasted & from whence we went to Bourn Sleaford & Lincoln— $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after we arrived Mr. Keyworth called on us with a letter from you, to acquaint us that the Common Council would be held at 3 o'clock & offer his services.

Mr K came the next morning about 12 to tell us that the Town Clerk made a mistake 3 being their dinner hour & at 5 they meet at the Guildhall—hoping that Charles White would come to Lincoln early enough, in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after we accompanied Mr Keywood to the Town Clerk who looked over his book for your name—then we lodged Tom's certificate & the Gazette with him & Mr Keywood took us to the City Newspaper room & brought us back to the White Hart, where we saw Charles White & Sydney Shore soon after. S. Shore left us very soon as he was going out to dinner, & Cousin White took us into the Castle, the new house for the Judges, & shewed us where the Palace is ; we returned to the White Hart after being taken to Mr Brown's & ordering a chaise to wait for us near the Guildhall.

Cousin White accompanied us there & swore that William & I were older than Tom & that he was at the Christening of one of us & after the oaths & fees we went to Branston, where we stopped until Thursday when my Cousins went after long engagement to a Friend Pheasant shooting & soon after we arrived at the White Hart.

Charles White was, of course, the only son of Mrs. White, Scrope Bernard's sister, and the Browns were the parents of his wife, as well as of Mrs. Bernard Smith. Sydney Shore was the eldest son of Mr. Shore of Norton Hall, and grandson of Urith Offley ; ² he had married only a few months before his cousin, Mary White, the sister of Charles, who was some years older than himself, but was evidently his own unbiassed choice.

Frank Bernard-Morland then goes into election matters :

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² See vol. i. of this History, chap. x., and other subsequent chapters.

Lady Monson's party with Mr Fazakerly the candidate & 3 or 4 of Tom's Schoolfellows were ushered into the White Hart by one of the Common Council, entered our room, & asked for our votes; we told them we had proffered them to Lord Bucks, (tho' he did not intend to try his interest against Col^l Ellison whose Friends were canvassing about the same time). Shortly after Osbaldeston & two or three others were mentioned as Candidates but he was solicited by Lord Fitzwilliam to stand for Retford on the Monday. We heard that in consequence of Col^l Ellison neither wishing to stand nor to pay the expenses Mr Hobart had introduced Mr Ellis as proxy for Sir Henry Sullivan, who is in Spain, in Col^l Ellison's room.

On Tuesday morning we offered our votes, went canvassing with them & dined with them. Mr Hobart was very civil and attentive. On Thursday we saw & heard from Mr H. that there can be no opposition & therefore did not require a poll, on those grounds we set off on Friday, the day they were to be chaired, & got to Aylesbury next evening at 5. Lord Nugent & Mr. Hussey were chaired on that Friday. Adjutant Wotton told us all the Aylesbury news & we arrived at Winchendon at 7; we attended the County election & dinner & I set off at 6 o'clock next morning & arrived in Town at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12. I send you two letters from Grantham, & Aylesbury & hope you will excuse the hurry in which I have written this scrawl. I remain

Your Dutiful & Affectionate Son

F. BERNARD MORLAND.

This letter is addressed to 'Scrope Bernard Morland, Esq., M.P., at Richard Symes, Esq., Castle Street, Bridgewater.'

Mrs. Bernard-Morland wrote ¹ about two days before from Winchendon, directing her letter to Parliament Street, whence it was forwarded to Exeter, where Scrope must have been before visiting Bridgewater. She notes the Bucks matters on hand, such as Meetings of Surveyors of Highways at Ashendon on the 15th; at Leighton Buzzard on the 19th—Borough Election over—County to-morrow—no contest—customary letters sent to Mr. Bernard-Morland from Lord Temple, and Mr. Lowndes the candidates; and continues:

The young men returned on Saturday evg. as the 3rd person

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

gave up at Lincoln—Lady Monson brought in Mr Fazakerly and Ld Buckinghamshire Sir Henry Sullivan . . . The gtleman were charmed with Branston Hall & their reception there & at the Brown's.

Mrs. White, the Jane Bernard of former times, had probably visited the 'home of her youth' since her brother Scrope had become its owner; but she had evidently not kept pace with the improvements effected under his superintendence, since he writes to his wife desiring her to drive his sister about the immediate surroundings of the Manor house, in order that she might have a full view of the alterations.

Another letter of this period affords a curious illustration of the easy-going habits of the time as regarded the precautions to be taken against even the most terrible diseases. Mrs. Bernard-Morland writes :

Poor William Chapman has been bit by his dog, who went mad, and he is so obstinate as not to get advice—therefore there is yet no knowing what the consequences may prove—whether fatal; and they have a puppy which has been bit also; that they will not tie up.¹

No tradition has been preserved of any outbreak of hydrophobia at Nether Winchendon; this may therefore have been a mere scare, and the dog not mad at all. Another letter from Margaret Bernard-Morland states that it was destroyed. In these days Chapman would have been compelled to destroy the puppy also, and much would have been done besides; but perhaps with the result that he and his family might have been frightened into some nervous disease resembling hydrophobia, if they missed the real thing.

The writer goes on to say that 'Sister White' had written from Bath, where she had arrived after a pleasant journey; that 'Aunt White'—meaning the same person—'brought a merry book for Tom, and sent it home by Collins with a pretty letter. The book is "Thinks I to Myself—Who?"'²

In December Mrs. Bernard-Morland was at Brighton with her daughters. Sir Thomas Bernard was there also

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² By Dr. Nares.

with his invalid wife, and their sister-in-law writes to her husband on the 8th: 'We are going to dinner to-day at Sir Thomas's to meet the arrival of the Shores and to drink Margaret's health'; meaning her eldest daughter, whose birthday it was. 'I wish you and Frank and our Pall Mall friends many happy returns of this day.' She then expresses her wish to leave Brighton on the last day of the year, if not inconvenient to her husband, who was expected to arrive there shortly, in order to spend New Year's Day with her parents, according to a family custom, which it was all the more desirable to keep up now that they were in trouble about William. The life of indulgence which the young man had been leading, as his grandfather's recognised heir, had, indeed, unfitted him for business habits, and it appears to have been arranged at this time that he should go abroad. The writer then proceeds to notify some of her engagements, adding:

We are full of gaieties now;—immediately you arrive on Thursday I have engaged you and Frank to go to a concert on the Marine Parade.

With how much effort Margaret went through her birthday festivities and responded to the toast of her health I know not, seeing that her heart must have been on the battlefields of the Peninsula, or perhaps of America;¹ but Mary Ann entered with a light heart into the spirit of the place. She had noted in her diary a few days before her mother's letter was written:—'December 14. Went to my first public ball. Danced with Mr. Glen.' Mr. Glen was a clergyman who had officiated at Nether Winchendon as curate to Mr. Kipling, and had, I believe, resided in one of the bettermost houses there, but he possibly lived at Crendon later, as he certainly officiated there. He appears to have been a superior man, and married a lady of some importance, a Mrs. Bruce, whose only child, Margaret, married the eighth Earl of Airlie,² as his second wife. Mary Ann Bernard-

¹ I am uncertain at what precise period Mr. Pigott's regiment was sent to America, but it was probably during this year, 1812.

² Debrett and Burke, 'Airlie (Earl of).' The particulars of the acquaintance

Morland mentions in one of her rhyming epistles that Mr. Glen was likely to become a curate of St. James's, Westminster, and he may not have taken a wife until after the move; but the acquaintance with the Bernard-Morland family continued after his marriage.

It may be hoped that the New Year's gathering of 1813 took place at Mr. Morland's house in Pall Mall; but it cannot have been so bright and lively as those gatherings had been in former years, when from early times each grandchild, and the old people also, either related a story or sang a song. Mrs. Morland was not great at singing, nor evidently at reciting either; she never varied from 'Don't you know the muffin-man?' William left in February for 'the Madeiras.' The Bank went on as usual, Frank having in the previous spring been appointed a partner in his place.

The Marquess of Buckingham¹ died in the February, the Marchioness in the March of this year. They left three children—Richard, Lord Temple, who succeeded as Marquess; George, who succeeded his mother in the Barony of Nugent, and Mary, who had married the tenth Lord Arundel of Wardour.

On March 27 Mrs. Bernard-Morland writes to her husband, who was apparently at Stowe, respecting the illness of a valued servant:

This letter is to say that poor William Moreton is dying;—he is so very bad that the medical person does not expect him to live to-night out—therefore when you return, you'll enter another house of death. I hope you'll find the Marquis and family as well as you can expect in their truly melancholy situation.

In the next letter she recurs to the subject of the good servant:

Poor William departed this life at 3 o'clock this morning, surrounded by his fellow servants and his sister, whom he was very fond of. We have lost an honest, faithful, sober, cleanly, and

of the Bernard-Morlands with Mr. and Mrs. Glen and Miss Bruce I have heard from my family.

¹ Debrett and Burke. Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.*

attached servant—and I am happy to say that everything was done for him that could be; and he wanted for nothing to my knowledge. Henry seems to feel very much the loss of his Father, and indeed I think we shall find him his Father in everything. . . .

There is a brief entry in the younger daughter's diary of 1813 which hardly explains the importance of the subject: 'July. Went first to Kimble.'¹ This meant an alteration in the life of the family and an addition to its sphere of interest. Mr. Bernard-Morland had not built any house on this property; but he had recently purchased the rectory from Lord Buckinghamshire, which had been long disused for clerical residence, since the incumbent lived at Great Hampden.²

It was apparently a substantial house, intended for a succession of genteel clergy, and the new owner made some additions to fit it for his own purposes; these, however, did not render it sufficiently good for the clergy who inhabited it after his death, and it was pulled down, a more up-to-date rectory being built near, but not quite on, the former site. I have a vague memory of passing the old home, which had then—in my young days—already ceased to be Bernard property, and can recall its situation near the side of a lawn, amongst fine old trees.

Why Mr. Bernard-Morland should have selected a second parish in the same county as Winchendon for residence it is difficult to say. He did not forsake the former place, but continued to spend money on both. Kimble was scarcely nearer to Stowe, and much further from Wotton than Winchendon; but possibly the Grenvilles had set a fashion for having two houses in one county; possibly also the new owner wished to leave an estate to each of his sons. Kimble was certainly somewhat more accessible from London, and there was more social intercourse in the neighbourhood, which seems to have been appreciated by the family.

¹ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.*

² *Lipscomb, Hist. Bucks.*

Mary Ann wrote some of her impressions of the neighbourhood to her grandfather : ¹

Most of the neighbouring villagers are Methodists, and have *calls*, like your Porter Robson ; we went to a Bookseller and Barber's shop at Risborough for some school-books, and the first thing I observed among the wigs was 'the Methodist's Magazine' ; on turning round, my eyes met the pictures of six or seven Evangelical Preachers ; I was then offered a pocket Bible, and several different editions of Watts's Psalms & Hymns ; in their Library were various Sermons & Essays of neighbouring 'Beautiful Men in the Pulpit,' as they are termed.

The man (who by a consequential air, and a smart wig, bespoke the complete village Barber) showed us a very curious kind of chronological Map, called 'the Stream of Time.' The late Preacher at that place cut his throat, and the present has otherwise behaved *very ill*, but still he roars to very crowded audiences every Sunday ; and the *best of men* we find are liable to do wrong. . .

When we ramble in these woods, we are in expectation of meeting either with a murderer, a thief, or a Bow-street officer ; as I am told that whenever a prisoner escapes, who is at all acquainted with Buckinghamshire, they search Hampden Woods, as felons often endeavour to hide themselves there ; Bowler, the farmer, who shot his neighbour last year, secreted himself some time, and begged at the door of Mr Battie, our clergyman, who lives at Hampden, but on finding that the Police were at his heels, he returned to his own house, and was secured.

William Bernard-Morland seems to have travelled extensively for the age, if the verses he sent home were composed on the spot they celebrated ; and if we may trust his brother Tom's opinion, he was not without some literary talent. In 1814 he sent to England some verses on the Grotto of Pausilippo, which evidently delighted his grandfather. Frank copied them to send to Kimble, and Tom writes to his father : 'My brother William's verses are the best of his I have ever seen, I really think they are above mediocrity.' ² What became of them I know not.

A light had now broken through the clouds that enveloped

¹ Letter of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland to her Grandfather, Mr. Morland, dated Kimble, September 23, 1813.

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

Europe, and peace with France, under its restored Royal dynasty, seemed at no great distance. It must have been about this time that Thomas Tyringham Bernard was transferred to the Bucks Yeomanry, which he entered with the rank of captain from his former corps, the local Militia, preparatory to its suppression as no longer required. He wrote to his father from Aylesbury on May 27, 1814 :¹

The Local Militia will be disembodied next Monday. . . . I have understood from you that I am expected at Buckingham next week when my military duties for the present year will be at an end. Ld Nugent is very pleasant and tolerably free from formality among the generality of us, but he has not yet got rid of his boyish tricks, he has behaved with great kindness to me and has given tolerable satisfaction amongst us all. On Friday next week we are to be reviewed by the district General. We are at present sitting on a court-martial to try some men for ill-behaviour, which is likely to employ us the greater part of to-morrow.²

The next day Thomas wrote again :

One of our men was sentenced, by yesterday's Court Martial to receive fifty lashes in front of the Regiment for insolent language to his Captain, which sentence, after the man had been carried into the field and stripped, was revoked. There was a curious fact inserted in the *news* which happened to our Regiment on the first Sunday, after the Regiment had returned from Divine Service, and formed in the Market Place, which was that the whole Battalion was charged by a furious cow, who threw down several men and put the whole Battalion to the rout ; it was related with so many exaggerations in the newspaper that I am afraid we shall lose great credit by it. To-morrow is our grand review day.

And of this he writes on the 31st :

Our review gave great satisfaction to General Rebow, who intimated to us the possibility of our being ordered to Nottingham in case the riots continued.

¹ There is no year in the date of the letter. This is fixed by the Nottingham Riots. Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*, 'Nottingham.'

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon

Whether the corps went I do not know. Probably not, as I never remember hearing any allusion to the campaign. These were some of the riots unhappily caused by the introduction of machinery, which ruined the hand workers.¹ Nottingham had already been convulsed from November 1811 to January 1812, when frames, &c., were destroyed, and similar violence had been perpetrated in the April of 1814; probably, however, it was subsiding towards the end of May.

About this time Mary Ann Bernard-Morland comes forward more completely as one of the family historians, since not only the entries in her diary, but some characteristic letters of 1814, have been preserved. Her confirmation, on April 29, by Dr. Law, Bishop of Chester, is one private matter of interest. The centenary of the House of Hanover, the engagement of a brother, and the departure of the gentlemen of the family for the Continent, will all be noticed elsewhere. The following note to her grandfather, Mr. Morland, dated from Parliament Street, July 27, 1814, would by reason of its neatly turned phraseology do credit even to a French pen. The 'everlastings' mentioned were probably water-colour drawings of flowers, a branch of art for which she showed a decided taste : ²

My dear Grandpapa,—Without intending to affront the *annual* ornaments of your Lee Garden, I have sent you a few *everlastings* from Buckinghamshire, which, blooming through winter, will I hope serve to enliven its solemnity, by reminding you of the pleasures of a season which will soon return.

Believe me, Honour'd Sir,

Your truly affectionate and dutiful Granddaughter,

MARY ANN BERNARD MORLAND.

Two days later ³ the writer went to Kimble, and on September 3 to Winchendon, whence she attended a ball at Aylesbury in honour of the peace concluded that year. It took place on October 6. Some little while after she writes to Mrs. Morland :

¹ Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*, 'Nottingham.'

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

³ Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland.

My dear Grandmamma,—Observing your name among the list of fashionable arrivals in London, at your elegant mansion in Pall Mall, I write in hopes that this letter will find you all perfectly recovered from your journey and dissipation. We have been extraordinarily rackety this summer, nay, we bowl along our roads now, as famously as you do at Lee.

The subject of our County Ball is not yet exhausted among our neighbours, for we have not paid nor received a visit for the last three weeks in which the conversation has not involuntarily turned upon that animated event. . . . The ball is supposed to have cost nearly £400, although the supper was not very grand; in the room where we sat, there were no triumphal arches, nor tongues enclosed in birds' nests, but the only thing to attract our eyes was a large bough of green apples, stuck in the middle of the table. Miss Wykeham was among the few (I believe) that were disappointed; I am sure I spent a delightful evening, although no less than 12 country beaux whom I expected to meet, were not there, among whom was Counsellor Swabey, who had told Mr. Aubrey he should certainly come.

Last Wednesday we were persuaded by a most pressing invitation from Mr. Kipling (who insisted that the roads were *very good*, and that as the moon was almost at the full there could be no doubt of a safe return), to dine at his pretty parsonage in company with Col. and Mrs. Aubrey, and our late minister Mr. Baron. We dined at 4 on a very nice dinner superintended by his mother Mrs. Kipling, drank tea at 7, played a merry game of dead commerce, and returned home at 9, having spent a very pleasant day. Mr. and Mrs. Aubrey seem a most domestic and happy couple, and they are very much liked.¹

This entertainment evidently took place at Chilton, and the precautions taken to convince the Winchendon guests that the expedition was free from danger may have been owing to former unpleasant experiences. The last part of the road to Chilton, after passing Chearsley, is hilly. I have heard my aunts relate how it once happened, somewhere in that locality—but I think in going up Brill Hill, an eminence beyond Chilton—that the carriage stuck fast, and its occupants had to call upon horses, which were luckily engaged in ploughing an adjacent field, to drag them up.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Aubrey¹ was nephew of Sir John Aubrey, of Dorton and Boarstall, and resided in the Manor House of Chilton, which also belonged to his uncle. Mr. Baron,² after officiating at Winchendon, had become perpetual curate of Brill and Boarstall, before the date of Mr. Kipling's party, and remained there till his death in 1866.

As to Mr. Kipling, the next paragraph will throw some light on his position :

We had a most excellent sermon from Mr. Kipling last Sunday ; he has not been able to procure another curate yet, which obliges him to officiate in our Church for a few Sundays.

The Rev. John Kipling was incumbent of four parishes.³ He was vicar of Oakley, perpetual curate of Chilton, Cheersley, and Nether Winchendon. His father, the Rev. Charles Kipling, had previously held Oakley, Chilton, Cheersley, and Ashendon-with-Dorton : that is, he had five churches to serve, and perhaps got through the duty without assistance—belonging to the type known in Bucks as ‘ whip-and-spur parsons,’ from the speed with which they were compelled to ride from one church to another on Sundays. Week-day services were then unknown, except on Christmas Day and Good Friday. In the days of the Rev. John Kipling it would seem that a modification of the old practice must have been introduced, since he felt bound to keep a curate, and therefore may not have officiated at more than two churches ordinarily on the same day. The four benefices, it may be added, did not make him a rich man. This letter continues :

. . . When we resume our winter quarters, which I suppose will be in about a fortnight, I shall hope to be favour'd with a minute account of the Bath fashions, and a sight of your Russian and Prussian ball-dresses.

¹ See Lipscomb, under the heads of those parishes, especially of Boarstall, vol. i.

² Mr. Baron's name will be found in Lipscomb's *Hist. Bucks* ; I was well acquainted with him personally, and I also remember Sir Thomas Aubrey.

³ This account of the Kipling livings may be found in Lipscomb's *Hist. Bucks*.

The Typhus continues to do much mischief at Thame; and gives Miss Wykeham many opportunities of making a good use of her money; I hear she gives away nearly £1,000 a year in her neighbourhood. Lord A—— H—— and Mr. W——,¹ of Berkshire, have taken up their quarters at Tetsworth, which is only a mile and a half from Thame Park, and therefore convenient for their frequent visits.

Miss Wykeham, who had inherited the estates of her grand-uncle, the last Viscount Wenman,² was created Baroness Wenman by William IV., who had wished to make her his wife. She never married.

The concluding paragraph of this long epistle shows how long harpsichords continued to be used after the invention of pianos, which seem to have been first exhibited in Saxony in 1717:

The old harpsichord is still in very good tone and order. I suppose I shall find the keys of your charming grand piano quite stiff when I return to town, and when I shall hope again to have the pleasure of assuring my dear Grandmama how truly I remain.

her dutiful and affectionate Granddaughter

MARY ANN BERNARD MORLAND.

¹ The names are given in full in the letter.

² Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, 'Wenman (Viscount).' See also Lipscomb's *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Kingsey.'

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BRIGHTON CHAPEL AND 'THE COMFORTS OF OLD AGE'

Sir Thomas Bernard's Efforts to Increase the Fish Supply—His Interest in the Erection of a Chapel at Brighton—He begins his Work on 'The Comforts of Old Age'—Death of Lady Bernard—Tribute of Sir Thomas to his Wife—Opening of the Chapel at Brighton—Action of the Vicar of Brighton—Church Extension in Brighton—Sir Thomas Bernard undertakes other Literary Labours—Peace with France and Visit of the Allied Sovereigns to England—Engagement of Thomas Tyringham Bernard—Sir Thomas Bernard's Second Marriage—Publication of 'The Comforts of Old Age' in its Completed Form—The 'Inconveniences of Old Age'—Various Editions of 'The Comforts of Old Age.'

THE life of Sir Thomas Bernard was, of course, always distinct. Although he and his brother and sisters frequently met, and he was a benefactor to his nephews and nieces, it is hardly possible to write of the homes even of Thomas and Scrope together—much less of the sisters, who were oftener at a distance from him.

That portion of the Bernard-Morland life which relates chiefly to the country has, therefore, been narrated in the last chapter down to the later months of 1814. But many events affecting the family belong rather to town life, and fall more naturally into the story of Sir Thomas Bernard, especially as the two brothers were at this time frequently at Brighton together, and were no doubt interested in the same momentous public events. There is one afflictive domestic event which I have reserved to the present chapter, because it could not be fully done justice to in the midst of lighter themes, though its date was 1813; and it was followed by another two years later.

In 1812 Sir Thomas was comparatively reposing from his toils, for he was early 'engaged in rendering his assistance

towards the formation of the Association for the "Relief of the Manufacturing Poor,"¹ then suffering by their exclusion from the markets of Europe and America.' It was royally and liberally supported, and 'supplied considerable relief in many parts of the kingdom.'

In the following year it will be seen that he was again busy with inquiries as to 'the means of facilitating and increasing the supply of fish both in the London market and in other parts of England.' His visit to Brighton in the June of this year (1812) has already been mentioned in the narration of the movements of the Bernard-Morlands. It was undertaken especially for Lady Bernard's health, but was also probably utilised for the purpose of gaining information on the subject of the fish trade and its possibilities of development. And as he was ready to seize every opportunity of helping, a new hope of benefiting the town in which he was residing soon presented itself:

His accustomed zeal [says his biographer], and the success, which had attended his Free Chapel in St. Giles's, induced him to make a similar attempt to benefit the inhabitants of that populous parish. The want of accommodation in the Church had caused a large and progressive increase of chapels of different sects for the reception of part of the inhabitants, and the entire neglect of all public worship by others. With a view of obviating these grievances, some of the well-disposed inhabitants opened a subscription in June 1810, for the purpose of erecting another chapel on the national establishment; for which the sum of one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds nine shillings and twopence was collected. A site was presented by one of the Subscribers, and a building for a chapel covered in at the expense of two thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds; but, for want of additional funds, the building remained unfinished and neglected, with a debt of above six hundred pounds beyond the subscription. Things were in this state when Sir Thomas arrived at Brighton; on condition of nine hundred sittings being appropriated to the accommodation of the poor, he undertook to raise two thousand five hundred pounds; the sum required to complete the chapel. This was approved by a General Meeting of the original

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*, by the Rev. James Baker.

Subscribers, and the money was advanced in sums of five hundred pounds each, by Sir Thomas and four other persons.¹

It will be seen presently that the energetic action then taken did not suffice to annihilate all obstacles to the good work. In the meantime Sir Thomas and Lady Bernard returned to London, believing that all was settled. So far as health was concerned their visit had not been a success. Sir Thomas was able to exert himself in the formation of the 'Fish Association for the Benefit of the Community,' which had arisen out of the Association of the previous year; but his strength perceptibly declined, and his wife's condition became one of so much suffering that it seemed for a time doubtful which would precede the other to the grave.

To occupy their minds on a suitable subject [writes Mr. Baker], he began in the course of this year his work on the 'Comforts of Old Age,' and he had much pleasure in reading to her the passages as he produced them. . . .

'The object (says the author in the Preface) to which I point, is the securing of a middle period, during which our exertions may be so directed, as, by duties performed and benefits conferred, to produce consolatory reflections against the approach of age and infirmity; so that we may view the grave, not as a scene of terror, but as the source of hope and expectation. In collecting and arranging the produce of my reading and meditation on this subject, with the hope, which all writers cherish, but many endeavour to conceal, that the work may prove worthy of favourable acceptance, I consider myself as a labourer employed for my own benefit and that of others, on the road which leads down the decline of life, in rendering it more safe and easy; not indeed working entirely with my own materials, but in part with what have been left as common property, and for the general use of mankind, happy, most happy, if my efforts may be of service to others; and may conduce to their security and comfort in their pilgrimage to that country which has been the object of desire to the wise and virtuous of all ages.'²

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

² *The Comforts of Old Age*, with Biographical Illustrations, by Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart.

This treatise on 'The Comforts of Old Age' was at first an essay of very moderate length, more fitted to form a pamphlet than a volume. It was and is thrown into the form of a dialogue between Bishop Hough, of 'Glorious Revolution' celebrity, as President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and nominated by William III. to the See of Worcester; his friend, Bishop Gibson, of London; and Mr. (afterwards the first Lord) Lyttelton,¹ who is perhaps best known by his Monody on the death of his first wife. The dialogue is supposed to take place on April 12, 1740, when Hough entered on his ninetieth year. Gibson was turned seventy, and is supposed to be on a visit to Hough at Worcester; while Lyttelton, a young man of thirty, in Parliament, and then contemplating marriage with that Lucy Fortescue he was afterwards to celebrate in verse, is invited as a country neighbour. There is always a difficulty in compositions framed on this plan in knowing whether the ideas and sentiments belong to the age of the speakers, or, what is more probable, to the era in which the book was written; but perhaps there is no very remarkable discrepancy in this case, as there is a certain sameness in the whole of the Georgian era.

The treatise was but half completed when Lady Bernard died, on June 6, 1813. To the best of my recollection my father used to say that she died while engaged in devotion, preparatory to the Holy Communion. The account given by Julia Smith, though it does not state this fact, is not inconsistent with it:

Whitsunday June 6.—Lady Bernard, my brother's wife, as she was preparing to go to Church with my Sister White in Wimpole Street, suddenly sank down, and never spoke, or manifested any sense from that moment: supposed to be the inward bursting of a blood-vessel. My Brother was at Brighton and hurried home the next day to the afflicting certainty of her loss. She was a most estimable, pious, and agreeable woman, spending a great proportion of her time and money in devout recollection

¹ Scrope Bernard's early friend, who was Lord Lyttelton when Sir Thomas wrote *The Comforts of Old Age*, was descended from a brother of the first peer. See Debrett and Burke.

and succouring charity, little drawn aside by the alluring amusements and splendour of the world, of which she had seen much, and was enabled to partake if her inclination had strongly drawn her to it. She was interred at the Foundling, the Tuesday but one following, amidst the sobs of the Foundling children and the heartfelt grief of all present. She had kept up her kind attention to the children after they [*i.e.* Sir Thomas and Lady Bernard] had left it for some years.

In spite of the warning which had been afforded Sir Thomas by his wife's protracted ill-health, the end came as a terrible shock. Woman-like, she had suppressed complaint so effectually that not until she was gone did her husband realise how much pain she had endured in silence. In the hope of moderating his grief and turning it to salutary use, he made haste to finish 'The Comforts of Old Age,' and he has put into the mouth of Bishop Hough the following eulogy, ostensibly commemorating the Bishop's wife, but really intended as a tribute to his own :

Endowed with a pleasing and engaging aspect 'she bore a mind which envy could not but call fair.' Diffident and reserved in mixed society, her intellectual powers were best appreciated in the recesses of private life. Warm and affectionate in her attachments, placable and forgiving when injured, and extending her charity with unsparing hand to the deserving and distressed, her life was such a continued preparation for eternity, that the unexpected event, which we all so painfully felt, might to her be deemed a blessing. I say unexpected, for she was apparently well; and on Whit-Sunday was preparing for that attendance at church which was never omitted, when she suddenly expired. Her health and spirits, though naturally good, had been gradually undermined by a long, an anxious, and assiduous attendance on a near and dear relative; and her illness had been accompanied by severe sufferings; as appeared by several of her manuscript prayers which came into my hands after her decease. I know it may appear selfish to praise when the object might be deemed a part of oneself. But why should I not declare her virtues? The light which they will shed may guide many of my fellow Christians to eternal happiness.¹

¹ *The Comforts of Old Age.* This passage is quoted by Rev. James Baker in his *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*, and he states that it was intended to describe Lady Bernard.

Margaret Bernard had been throughout her married life a most efficient helpmate to her husband, but her share in his good works was probably little known to the world. It was, as he observed, in the family circle that she was most valued. Her husband's nephew, Thomas Tyringham Bernard, cherished to old age a New Testament which she had given him as a New Year's gift for 1800, when he was eight years old. He frequently read it in his last years, and took pleasure in recalling the virtues of the donor, whom he revered as a saint.

Sir Thomas Bernard paid a visit to Brighton soon after his bereavement, and appears to have been present at the opening of the new chapel. His biographer states that

The difficulty respecting the nomination of the minister was supposed to be got over, by the Trust Governors unanimously accepting the Bishop's nomination of a very unexceptionable clergyman, who opened the chapel on Sunday the 25th of July, 1813, the Feast Day of St. James, from whom the Chapel had originally been named; the five Trust Governors having contributed the further sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds which was necessary for discharging the bills and closing the accounts. The talents and piety of Mr. Marsh filled the Chapel with a multitude of poor persons, who, from the inadequate provision of that town, had not been in the habit of attending any place of worship. In consequence however of some misunderstanding of the previous arrangements, the Vicar exercised his right of prohibiting the further celebration of Divine Service, and, a suit being instituted in the Ecclesiastical Court, the Chapel was closed.

A fuller account of these transactions is found in the Life of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Marsh, which is here subjoined :

At the recommendation of the Bishop, and with the consent of the Governors, he was then appointed to St. James's Brighton. A veto however, rested with the Vicar, who was determined to exercise it; for, although he expressed the highest admiration of Mr Marsh's character, he had been prejudiced against his religious views by certain anonymous letters. The chapel, nevertheless, was opened, and Mr Marsh began his ministrations there with the Bishop's consent, in the hope that the Vicar might withdraw his objection; but as this was not the case, Mr Marsh resigned

after some months, and the chapel was closed until another appointment should be made. The Vicar was afterwards raised to the Bench as Bishop of Worcester, and became one of Dr Marsh's warmest friends, supporting him most heartily in a somewhat similar difficulty which occurred many years afterwards at Leamington. In referring at his first Visitation dinner to the circumstances of his early acquaintance with Mr Marsh, the Bishop remarked: 'Had I known him then as I know him now, never would I have allowed him to leave the chapel at Brighton. Even then I could not but see that his conduct throughout was that of a perfect gentleman and blameless Christian.'¹

In the meantime, however, the course taken by the Vicar of Brighton, as he then was, had a serious result in checking the progress of Church extension in Brighton. The discomfiture of the benefactors to the chapel must have been serious, as well as the disappointment of many intended worshippers who had not the means to be benefactors—those who would have formed the poorer portion of the congregation—to say nothing of the blow dealt at the reputation of the rejected incumbent. Sir Thomas Bernard was, as I have heard, put to great expense in the Ecclesiastical Court, and worried by litigation as well as calumny at a time when tranquillity was of the greatest importance to him.

I have used the word calumny because it is evident that the whole trouble turned on the Vicar's dread of Methodism, that bugbear of the day. A letter from a Mr. Jackson to his brother, Sir George Jackson,² dated 'Brighton, March 12th, 1813,' gives a version of this 'Church squabble,' as he calls it, which no doubt expressed the views of many of the opponents of the chapel, and must have been communicated to the Vicar in the anonymous letters mentioned above:

There is a Sir Thomas Bernard—a sort of itinerant institutor whom I daresay you remember at the Foundling—who wants to establish a chapel here, independent of the Bishop and of all Church authorities. He has engaged as minister a Mr Marsh

¹ *The Life of the Rev. William Marsh, D.D.*, by his Daughter, the author of the *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars*, chap. ii., 'First Years of Ministry.'

² A further selection from the *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H. (Diplomatist)*, vol. ii., from 1809 to 1813.

from Reading—a son of the banker—to whom the Vicar objected on the score of non-orthodoxy. At first, the Bishop was very easy in the matter and I fear has not shown much judgement throughout. At last, however, he is in the right way to put a stop to it, for there is no doubt that the plan was to establish a Methodist chapel under the guise of a Church of England one—a wolf in sheep's clothing and a much more dangerous enemy than even a Roman Catholic establishment.

The name of the inimical Vicar is not given by Mr. Marsh's biographer, nor by Sir Thomas Bernard's, but he must have been Robert James Carr, who became Bishop of Chichester in 1824, succeeding the friendly Dr. Buckner, and was translated to Worcester in 1831.

Mr. Baker, in his 'Life of Sir Thomas,' speaks with great caution and reserve of the whole affair, but it is plain that for some years the chapel fell into the hands of Dissenters, since he sums up the account with: 'After passing through several hands, it is now again opened for the service of the Church of England by a zealous and able Minister, and is producing the most beneficial effects on the inhabitants of Brighton.' As this was written soon after Sir Thomas Bernard's death, it is possible that he lived to hear of its success, though of course he had no further connection with it. But the whole transaction must have had a depressing effect on many minds; and, indeed, it was not a question of St. James's Chapel only. Those who have known anything of the ecclesiastical history and arrangements of Brighton must be aware that for many years after that period church building and organisation in the town were hampered by formidable obstacles, from which, of course, Dissent was exempt.

It is hardly necessary to add that, whatever technical mistakes Sir Thomas Bernard or his fellow-labourers may have made in the arrangements regarding the incumbency of St. James's Chapel, there can have been no intention of injuring the Church of England, to which his whole life shows that he was strongly attached, but which it was then exceedingly difficult to assist or extend.

During his stay at Brighton Sir Thomas superintended the printing of 'The Comforts of Old Age.'¹ He gave some copies to the Brighton Dispensary, and these in some unknown fashion found their way into the hands of book-sellers. The work at that time was not published, nor does the author seem to have contemplated anything beyond a private circulation; but the approbation it elicited and the consequent suggestions of friends induced him to expand and develop the theme until it attained the dimensions of a small volume.

At the same time its writer was engaged in literary labours of a different sort, which perhaps also served the purpose of diverting his mind from sad thoughts in another manner:

In the spring of 1813 [says Mr Baker] the Bishop of Durham had consulted Sir Thomas Bernard about some papers of his late brother, Lord Barrington, the printing of which he thought calculated to answer objections which had been made to parts of his valuable brother's conduct. Upon examining them, Sir Thomas told the Bishop that the correspondence contained evidence which would not merely answer objections, but would in his opinion establish Lord Barrington's character as a consistent and disinterested statesman; for which purpose it would be necessary that his papers should be referred to, and the contents given in a biographical form. On the Bishop's regretting that at his very advanced period of life, and with his diocesan labours, he did not feel equal to such an undertaking, in the autumn, while he was at Auckland Castle, Sir Thomas arranged under the Bishop's inspection, 'The Political Life of Lord Barrington.' He thought it would come with more propriety and effect from the Bishop, and it was so published in February 1814; but his Lordship in a Preface very handsomely gave the credit of the work to the person who had so kindly undertaken it.²

Since Sir Thomas was present at the opening of St. James's Chapel in July 1813, he must have gone almost direct from Brighton to Bishop Auckland. Beyond launching

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

² *Ibid.*, from which most of these particulars are taken.

his new publication, 'The Life of Lord Barrington,' of which it may be supposed that he superintended the business details for the Bishop, and expanding his treatise on 'The Comforts of Old Age,' there seems no record of any special work during the year 1814; he was under much depression from loneliness, and felt deeply the absence of that sympathy which had cheered him in his labours; moreover the unfortunate suit in connection with the Brighton Chapel, in which he found himself held up to reprobation by certain persons as an enemy to the Church he had so faithfully served, was not calculated to raise his spirits.

By degrees, however, his health seems to have improved, and his mind so far recovered its tone that he was able to enjoy the society of some friends. Music had always been a great solace, and in February 1814 Francis Bernard-Morland wrote¹ to his father, then at Liverpool, 'Mother and Sisters have gone this morning to a morning practice at Uncle's.' It was probably one of many.

Mr. Bernard-Morland was on his return from Ireland with his son Thomas; it is most likely that they had gone there on business connected with an office which Thomas held a few years later. Francis, who was generally in London, was the chief purveyor of news to the rest of the family. In his February letter he chronicles the burning of the Custom House and twenty-five other houses. A few days later he writes:

There is a rumour in the City that Bonaparte was killed in a terrible battle, and that the Allies are in Paris. New Omnium at '33. People say it is a stockjobbing report.

The Emperor was not killed, but his power was gone.² Paris surrendered to the Allies on the last day of March; peace was declared with France in April, when Frank writes to his father at Kimble:

The Regent seems trying to exceed his usual brilliancy in

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² The historical events mentioned are, of course, to be found in Histories of the times. See also *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*.

illuminations to-night ; they say the general illuminations will last three nights, and the Duchess of Oldenburgh intends dining with the Lord Mayor.¹

Louis XVIII. entered Paris in May, and in June the allied sovereigns paid England a visit. That event was vividly remembered by Thomas Tyringham Bernard, who often spoke in after-years of having seen the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia walking together in London, and sometimes the Prince Regent with one or more of the sovereigns.² The Emperor of Russia and his sister, the Duchess of Oldenburg, were both remarkable for beauty and dignity, and appeared to him ideal representatives of imperial rank.

In this year Mr. Bernard-Morland and his sons Francis and Tom visited the Continent. Just before his departure, apparently, Tom, or Thomas Tyringham Bernard, became engaged to Sophia Charlotte, the only child of that David Williams whom Scrope had watched over to some extent in earlier days. He had succeeded his father as Sir David Williams³ in 1792, and married, two years later, Sarah Sophia, daughter and coheiress of the Rev. John Fleming Stanley, who was the only son of Edward Stanley, of Barlands, Radnorshire, Esq. Mr. John Stanley had been dead some years, and his father also ; young Sir David died only a year after his child's birth and two years after his marriage ; in consequence of her mother's remarriage with a Colonel Armstrong, Sophia Williams had resided for many years with her grandmother. This 'old Lady Williams,' as she was called in the family, was the elder daughter of the Mrs. Rowland who in Mrs. Beresford's time had lived in Aylesbury ;⁴ she inherited the Manor of Whitchurch and some property at Aston Clinton, including a house in which she resided and brought up her grand-daughter.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² I have heard him speak of this time.

³ Pedigrees and other documents illustrating this fact are to be found at Nether Winchendon.

⁴ See vol. i., chap. x. of this Family History.

Thomas Tyringham Bernard thus went abroad rejoiced as to his prospects, but perhaps none the better disposed to like foreign countries.

The English, to whom France and every country ruled by Napoleon had long been closed, were rushing to the Continent in great numbers; but it is quite likely that in this case the tour was one of business rather than pleasure, undertaken because old Mr. Morland, who had many foreign connections, was no longer equal to any effort.

It must have been during this journey that Mr. Bernard-Morland, who had thoughtfully provided himself with tea, because it was then almost unknown on the other side of the Channel, at least in country parts, having trusted a waiter at his first inland halting-place with his whole store, on the assurance that he quite understood how it should be used, found it all served up at the next meal in a soup-tureen.¹

Probably France was in a disorganised state at this period; there appears to have been nothing like the comfort that Mr. and Mrs. King met with earlier in the century. Thomas Tyringham Bernard writes of 'the bestiality of Paris' and 'the horrible methods of feeding,' and adds:

I think my tour will have the effect of confirming my ideas as to the happiness of domestic life, and the comforts of an English fireside.

In a letter beginning 'My dear Chandos,' and probably addressed to Mr. Chandos Leigh, afterwards the first Lord Leigh, he mentions that his father left him after a fortnight, and that he travelled to Valenciennes, Peronne, Cambray, Mons, and Châlons to Brussels, where he remained nearly a week, and then explored other portions of what is now Belgium. He expresses himself as being 'most cursedly sick of foreign parts.'²

He was, indeed, abroad again the next year, but probably not from choice, and not in Paris. About twenty-two years

¹ This anecdote I heard from my father.

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

later he was led by circumstances to reside there some years, when he made acquaintance with many French people and recognised the good points of the country; though it must be admitted that he retained some insular prejudices to the last.

Possibly Thomas Tyringham Bernard's engagement had not been made known beyond his immediate family until his return. It is on November 24 that Mrs. Bernard-Morland writes to the *fiancé* from Parliament Street:

We all dined with Sir Thomas on Saturday, and he made great inquiries after you and your Aston friends, and after dinner gave your health with happiness and success to you. Your Grandfather is very poorly. . . . We have dined in Pall Mall once, and he was too ill to sit long with us. However he drank your health, and *la belle Sophie*. . . .¹

On June 15, 1815, Sir Thomas Bernard took for his second wife—doubtless from the feeling that he could not stand alone—Charlotte Matilda, daughter of the first Sir Edward Hulse, of Breamore, Hants,² and sister of the second baronet, sister also of Sir Samuel Hulse, Governor of Chelsea Hospital, a lady only eighteen years younger than himself, but of a bright and cheerful disposition; though fond of society, she found attractions in her home, devoted herself in no grudging spirit to the task of watching over her husband's declining years, and continued all her life on affectionate terms with his family.

When Thomas Tyringham Bernard visited the Continent in 1815, Napoleon's escape from Elba had taken place, and he, no doubt, avoided that country. He was in Belgium—or the Netherlands—during the month of June,³ and dined with some of the Guards on the evening of their hurried departure from Brussels on the 14th, which was followed on the 18th by the battle of Waterloo. He cannot, therefore,

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² Debrett and Burke's *Baronetages*; Baker's *Life of Sir T. Bernard*, and family documents.

³ I have heard from my father of his dinner with the Guards on June 14. The dates of the military movements are, of course, in all Histories of the time.

have been present at his uncle's wedding, but he may have returned in time to see his grandfather once more.

Mr. Morland died,¹ after a long period of gradual decline, on July 14, aged seventy-six, leaving a great blank in the family circle; in which he was associated with memories of many kindnesses from their earliest infancy. Although somewhat autocratic in his ideas, it would seem that his grandchildren always thought of him as a friend.

‘The Comforts of Old Age’ was published in 1816, the year after its author's second marriage, in its completed form. The principal title in the first edition was ‘Spurinna,’ but, as I have heard my father say, the publisher, Murray, objected to this name, and after printing the word in small type, with the additional title conspicuously large, finally obtained its suppression altogether, as ill-calculated to attract an unlearned public.

In having at first fixed on the title of ‘Spurinna’ [wrote Sir Thomas in the Preface addressed to Bishop Barrington] I was influenced by a letter of Pliny's, the first in the third book;—a letter which I never read without real gratification, increased by circumstances of resemblance in habits, character, and period of life; which if from one peculiar cause, they do not strike your Lordship, will, I am confident not escape the application of any other readers: even though I should give them no longer an extract than the following: ‘*Illi post septimum et septuagesimum annum, aurium oculorumque vigor integer; inde agile et vividum corpus, solaque ex Senectute Prudentia.*’²

This, of course, identifies Bishop Barrington with the Bishop Hough of the book, in which Bishop Hough observes:

In Pliny's letters there is an interesting account of his friend Spurinna, and of the methods he took to preserve his activity,—arranging his life by that uninterrupted regularity which seems to be peculiarly fitted to old age.

As the work was gradually enlarged, although in the original form of a dialogue or trialogue, the original title

¹ *Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland*; also family letters and papers.

² Preface to *The Comforts of Old Age*.

became less applicable, since it contains more allusions to Cicero than Pliny, to say nothing of the Christians whose names are introduced; therefore it was advisedly dropped. The author observes in his Preface that :

Of the materials which Cicero possessed, no one could have made a better use than he has done in his Essay on Old Age. But the Gospel has since opened purer and more valuable sources of consolation than are to be found in Polytheism and heathen Philosophy. . . . In adopting the form of a dialogue passing between eminent men of the same period, I have followed the example of Cicero. The venerable Bishop Hough is the Cato of my Drama. . . .

The 'Inconveniences of Old Age' are enumerated in the Table of Contents as : '1. Unfitness for Public Life ; 2. Infirmary of Body ; 3. Loss of Animal Enjoyment ; 4. Anxiety about Death.' And to each of these drawbacks a compensating advantage is suggested. If unfit in respect of vigour for public life, the old man is a valuable adviser, able to correct the inexperience of younger heads. A temperate and careful life will much diminish the infirmities of age. As the power of animal enjoyment lessens, the sense of intellectual pleasure becomes heightened. Anxiety about death may be overcome by reflection on the miseries of life and the hope of a better state of existence ; the death of the aged is, indeed, often a mere falling asleep ; while the hope of meeting lost friends in another world brightens the prospect in the last hours.

The book is, of course, to a certain extent, imbued with the ideas of the time in which it was written ; the persons whose words and deeds are celebrated are in most cases those whom it was then the fashion to admire. But not entirely. In breadth of view Sir Thomas Bernard was before many writers of his age and country ; if he eulogises William and Mary, and also a few of their adherents, he has quite an equal feeling of admiration for the deprived Archbishop Sancroft. Even the Pope of his own time, Clement XII., then nearly ninety, is praised for the reforms he had introduced in his government.

And he has a good word for 'enthusiasm,' then the horror of the Church and State party,¹ whether it be found in Papists or Methodists:

Who [he observes] can acquit the benevolent, the excellent Fénelon, the venerable Archbishop of Cambray, of the charge of enthusiasm. Yet it was the enthusiasm of piety and devotion; it was the aspiration of the creature to its Creator. Pure and undefiled religion is of no sect; whatever garb it wear, and whatever be the denomination of the sincere and faithful believer, let us in him acknowledge the brother.

Bishop Hough, the principal speaker, also answers Bishop Gibson's fears about 'the new sect of Methodists and the aggressive spirit of Methodism' at some length:

If it be of man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, we cannot overthrow it, nor need we fear evil from it. May they not, in the hands of Providence, be the means of bringing us to a more acute sense of our duty, and to a more perfect knowledge of evangelical truth?

In the notes and illustrations, which were probably the finishing touches to the work, and therefore penned just before or soon after Sir Thomas's second marriage, he refers to a passage, already quoted, containing an outline of his first wife's pious life and death, in the following words:

This was a tribute to the memory of an ever-dear and regretted friend, who died on the 6th of June, 1813. It was written immediately after her death, and contains as correct a delineation of her general character, as an unreserved intimacy of above thirty years could supply.

Other passages in the book evidently refer to the same subject. Early in the 'dialogue' Bishop Hough says to Mr. Lyttelton:

To me it is always a gratification to sympathize with the young

¹ It is scarcely possible to open a book of the Georgian era in which religious or moral questions are mooted without coming across a denunciation of the terrible phantom, Enthusiasm. The motto of the time seems to have been, 'Surtout, point de Zèle.'

in their enjoyments. I become more a participator in their youthful feelings than my aged and cold blood would have promised; and I profess to you, my young friend, that when the day arrives of your union with the object of your choice, I shall almost feel myself a bridegroom, retracing in my recollection that happy hour, which united my dearest friend to me. The separation, indeed, at the time was bitter; but that bitterness is now passed; a fond regret remains, mingled with more and more pleasing sensations, and acquiring increased softness and tenderness, as I hourly approach nearer and nearer to the period of our re-union. I now humbly confide in her being soon restored to me, in a state of eternal and unchanging happiness, promised by the revealed word of God, to those who have faithfully served Him in their day and generation.

Once more, towards the close of the book, Bishop Hough is made to utter the sentiments of the author, although the necessity of keeping up the illusion of the narrative obliged Sir Thomas to describe the time of separation as much longer than it really was in his own case. When summing up the Christian theory of life in this world, and the hope laid up for another, Bishop Hough says:

Connected with these benevolent feelings, will be another source of happiness, when we exchange this mortal and corruptible, for a glorified and immortal body; our re-union with all those friends whose virtue and piety make their friendship truly desirable. Then may I hope again to rejoin my beloved wife; of whose value a separation of near twenty years has only made me more sensible, and whom from thenceforth I shall call—for ever—ever mine.

To descend to the still more prosaic region of business details, it should be stated that the first edition of 'The Comforts of Old Age' sold rapidly; in the following year (1817) two more editions were brought out, and a fourth before Mr. Baker wrote the biography of Sir Thomas Bernard, probably in 1818. These were all published by Murray; also the fifth edition, of 1820, which was subsequent to the author's death.

After this a lapse of many years occurred, and then a

sixth edition appeared, in 1846, published by Messrs. Longman, Brown, Green & Longman. To this a very short Memoir was prefixed, communicated by Sir Thomas's widow, and partly taken, it was announced, from a sketch which he left. The pages of this edition are adorned with a blue border of a rose, thistle, and shamrock pattern.

Another edition, also calling itself the sixth, was printed in the country in 1847, why, I know not. To the best of my belief the family, excepting possibly the widow, had nothing to do with these editions.

CHAPTER XXX

THE LAST DAYS OF SIR THOMAS BERNARD

Marriage of the Eldest Daughter, Margaret—Sophia Williams—The Salt Tax in England—Sir Thomas Bernard's Efforts to obtain a Repeal of the Duties—Penalties attached to Evasion of the Duty—The Working of the Duties—Health of Sir Thomas Bernard—His Letter on the Salt Duties to the Bishop of Durham—His Illness and Death at Leamington—His Zeal for the Public Good—His Portrait by Opie—Mr. G. J. Holyoake's Tribute to his Work—Abolition of the Salt Duties.

THE beginning of the year 1816 was marked by an event of some interest to the family: the eldest daughter attained the reward of her constancy. Her sister enters it in her Diary as follows:

Jan. 18th.—Married at St. James's Church, Captain Henry Pigott to my sister Margaret, after an engagement of 6 years during the chief part of which he had been employed in active service in Spain and America, and they had neither seen nor heard from one another for five years and a half. He was in the 32nd Regiment, and was the youngest son of the late Rector of Loughrea.¹ The ceremony was performed by Dr. Price (who had married my father and mother,) and the Bridesmaids and Bridesmen were—myself, Miss Mills and Miss Pearce, Captain Derenzy, Frank and Tom. After breakfast the newly married couple went to Richmond, where they had taken a house for a short time.

They afterwards moved.

Another feature of the family life, in London especially, must have been the visits of Sophia Williams, the betrothed of Thomas Bernard. She had been kept in strict seclusion by her grandmother, who was probably unable to go through much fatigue, and certainly too much embittered by the troubles of life to endure much gaiety. I have heard, how-

¹ An error of the Diarist; he was Rector of Dunsandle.

ever, that she sometimes allowed her grand-daughter to go out under the escort of Mrs. Wells, the wife of a neighbouring clergyman, to such entertainments as were to be had near Aston Clinton. But her visits to Pall Mall must have been her first introduction to a more extended sphere, and also afforded her the advantages of family life, which she could hardly be said to have known previously. She soon made herself one of them, and was affectionately remembered by the survivors long after her death.

Miss Williams came of age in the June of this year ;¹ there was no reason, therefore, why the marriage should be delayed, except her grandmother's dread of being left alone ; but this proved sufficient, and the young people waited.

Thomas Tyringham Bernard was High Sheriff of Bucks, although he did not attain his twenty-fourth birthday till September 15 ; but this appointment of another son saved his father from further pressure, and the good grandmother, Mrs. Morland, helped to provide funds. She visited Winchendon in July.

Sir Thomas cannot have been otherwise than interested in the marriage of the niece who was his Margaret's god-daughter, and in the career of his own godson, Thomas ; and for about a year after his second marriage he appears to have lived tranquilly, enjoying a fair share of health, and finding sufficient occupation in business connected with the institutions he had already founded ; but he then suffered himself, contrary to his own theory of life, once more to be dragged into the toil and excitement inseparable from the advocacy of a public question by a call which he deemed imperative.

Every student of history has heard of the misery caused by the ' gabelle,' the oppressive salt tax in France,² but few

¹ Miss Williams had been a ward of Chancery, but I do not hear that the Lord Chancellor had ever objected to the engagement.

² 'The taxes differed in different parts of France. Those parts which suffered from the salt tax were called " Pays de Gabelle " ; " Fraudes de Gabelle " passed into a familiar saying and was applied to evasions of many sorts.' See *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, ' Gabelle ' (edition of 1814). Details of the working of this tax may be found in histories of France.

persons comparatively are aware that an unjust and injurious salt tax existed in England even in the early years of the nineteenth century. Sir Thomas Bernard had already written on the subject in two notes to one of the 'Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor,'¹ as pressing heavily on the fisheries and agriculture, two subjects in which it has been shown that he took a deep interest.

At the time when this paper was written—it is dated March 1802—Pitt and Addington were supposed to be quite prepared for a repeal of the tax,² if urged by the people; the renewal of war with France, however, not only frustrated this hope, but led to a threefold increase of the duty. Sir Thomas was then engaged in many philanthropic schemes, which left him no leisure for a new undertaking; moreover, agitation would have been useless during the continuance of the war, which was supposed to override all other interests. He remained on the watch for an opportunity, and in 1816 the settled peace afforded him a chance of attracting attention to this topic, which no one else seemed disposed to bring forward.

Sir Thomas must have learned the injurious working of the tax during his researches into the burdens of the country, but it is probable that he first realised the extent of the grievance when staying at Oulton Park, the seat of his friend, Sir John Grey-Egerton, in the salt district of Cheshire; this he had probably often done, and thus become well acquainted with the subject in all its bearings. It was certainly in this mansion that he now spent part of the summer of 1816,³ preparing material for this new campaign. In the following December he addressed a letter and two postscripts to Mr. Vansittart, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been an active member of his Society and one of the committee appointed in 1801 to inquire into this very matter:

¹ Extract from an 'Account of the Measures taken during the late Scarcity for Supplying the Poor with Corned Herrings and other Cheap Fish,' by Thomas Bernard, Esq.

² *Case of the Salt Duties.*

³ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

This [says Mr. Baker] produced a motion in the House of Commons (April 1817) for an inquiry into the operation of the Salt Duties, upon which the previous question was carried by a majority of only seventy-nine to seventy. An examination of the subject was, however, held at the Board of Trade, which lasted several days, and in which Sir Thomas Bernard was incessantly engaged. Towards the end of the Session an Act was passed, which, it was represented on behalf of the Excise, would remove all existing objections and grounds of complaint as to the Fisheries; and would lighten the duties on Salt to be used for manure and feeding cattle; but the conditions and penalties imposed by this Act were soon found to render it perfectly nugatory.¹

It is evident that the determination with which Sir Thomas took up this contest was calculated to render his friends uneasy, and some of them were disposed to doubt whether the evils caused by these duties were so flagrant as to justify the risk he was running. The present generation, and even the one before it, have known nothing of the salt tax, except perhaps in districts where a tradition of its results is kept up, and it was with much interest that I read, about ten years ago, an article in 'Temple Bar' by Mrs. Agnew,² in which she made mention of 'the terrible salt tax' amongst her reminiscences, but without further details. If we now think of it as little more than a myth, this is owing to the exertions of Sir Thomas Bernard.

As to the official regulations connected with the tax, they are of course forgotten by the public, but may be found in some books. The following statement is from an encyclopædia which goes into the subject at considerable length.³ I pass over the references in the article to salt from foreign

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

² Mary, daughter of Right Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, wife first of Rev. Henry James Wharton, secondly, of Major Agnew; Burke's *Peerage*, 'Devon, Earl of.'

³ *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, by Abraham Rees, D.D., F.R.S., F.L.S. (S. Amer. Soc.), with the assistance of eminent professional gentlemen (1819). Article, 'Salt, Common, Laws Relating to.' There are several articles on salt in this *Cyclopædia*, dealing with it under various aspects, but there is, unfortunately, none regarding the working of the laws relating to salt; this was probably considered beyond the limits of the work.

countries, from Ireland, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, and Scotland, with many other particulars, transcribing merely a part of what relates to England.

The first Act referred to in the following extract was passed in 45 George III.—that is, 1804–5 :

. . . By s. 14 no rock salt shall be refined or made into white salt, at any place in Great Britain beyond the distance of ten miles from the salt mine or salt pit from which the rock salt has been taken ; except at such works as have been duly entered for the purpose one year previous to the passing of this Act ; and places for making salt in England are to be entered, on pain of forfeiting £100, the salt, and articles used in making the same, &c. : s. 17. By 38 George III. c. 89 officers may enter and take an account at any time by day or night. Proprietors are to provide warehouses and store their rock-salt in them, &c. under penalty of £100 : s. 19. Proprietors are to give notice of their intention to take salt out of the mine, under forfeiture for every offence of £20. . . . Makers and refiners of salt shall provide suitable warehouses, with proper fastenings, which shall be kept locked except when the officer attends, under forfeiture of £50 : s. 22. Such maker shall give six hours notice in writing before he begins to charge any pan or boiler, which notice shall specify whether he intends to make large grained, commonly called fishery-salt, or fine-grained salt, under penalty of £20 for each offence : s. 23. And he shall proceed without delay on pain of £20. Brine may be added once and no more : s. 24. But the whole operation must be finished before brine is put in, under penalty of £50 : s. 25. The salt taken from every pan is to be kept separate, and within ten hours after it has been taken out the maker shall specify in writing to the proper officer the quantity made at such boiling ; and when the officer has taken account of it, all such salt shall be removed into the maker's entered warehouse, on pain of £20. Half the salt of one boiling may be warehoused before the whole is finished, nor is any salt to be warehoused till an account is taken, under forfeiture of 20s. for every pound, or £100 at the option of the Attorney-General or the person suing : s. 30. . . . Salt shall not be removed out of warehouses, except at stipulated times, under penalty of forfeiting the same, carriages, horses, &c., and £100 for every such offence : s. 34. Salt shall not be removed without a permit, under the penalty of forfeiting as before, and 40s. for every pound, or £100 at the pleasure of the Attorney General, or person who shall sue : s. 35. Persons removing salt without a permit shall on

conviction forfeit £50, or be committed to the House of Correction for any time not exceeding 12 months: s. 36.

Warehouses are to be approved by the officer, and repaired or altered according to his directions; and if such warehouses be opened or entered by any person but in the presence of the officer, he shall for every offence forfeit £20: s. 37, 38. And if any lock or fastening provided by the officer at the expence of the proprietor be removed or broken, the delinquent shall forfeit for every such offence £100: s. 39. And it shall be repaired by the proprietor within a reasonable time, on pain of forfeiting £20: s. 40. Notice is to be given when it is proposed to take salt out of the warehouse, and the officer is to attend. . . .

Removing rock salt without a permit incurs a forfeiture of the same, and carriages, cattle, &c., and persons concerned in so doing incur a penalty of £500: s. 48. Scales and weights are to be provided by the proprietor, and his servants are required to assist, on forfeiture of £100: s. 50, 51. He that conceals salt to evade the duty forfeits the salt and £50: s. 52. Officers may seize salt found in vessels and carriages suspected of being clandestinely removed, and persons offending shall forfeit the salt and carriages, &c., and 40s. for every pound weight: s. 54. The proof of payment of duty lies on the owner, and not on the officer who seized the same. . . .

Any person attempting to use salt for making glass was beset by restrictions of the same description. Finally, the Act of 47 George III. states that:

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Justices of the Peace, at their respective General Sessions, may set, ascertain and publish the price of salt to be sold or exposed for sale (and not intended for exportation) within their respective counties, cities, and places, and may alter the same as they see occasion; and the prices so set or altered are to be observed by every person selling or exposing salt for sale. And if any person shall sell any salt (except for exportation) at any higher price, or refuse to sell it at the price so fixed as aforesaid, he shall forfeit £20 to be levied by distress, by warrant of one justice; and in default of sufficient distress, such justice may imprison such offender until he pay the same, to be applied half to the King, and half to him who shall sue: s. 143.¹

Notwithstanding the heavy penalties attached to evasion

¹ Burn's *Justice*, art. 'Excise.'

of the duty, it must have been often a necessity either to evade it or to give up business.

During the summer of 1817, Sir Thomas Bernard was once more a guest at Oulton Park, and working busily in the cause he had undertaken. In the December of the same year he published a *résumé* of the whole question entitled: 'Case of the Salt Duties, with Proofs and Illustrations,' with an affectionate dedication to Sir John and Lady Grey-Egerton. From this little book two passages are here quoted:

The mischief of improvident taxes may be ten times—nay, a hundred times more, than the amount of what they really bring in to the Royal Treasury. They may paralyze the spirit and the energy of the people; affect their means of subsistence and employment, and destroy the sources from whence individual wealth and public revenue are to be derived. They may check the industrious by terrors of responsibility; alarm the ignorant by intricacy of regulation, and ruin the enterprising by penalties and forfeitures; at the same time by their excessive amount, they may offer such irresistible temptations to perjury, theft, fraud, and smuggling, as may corrupt and entangle poverty and ignorance, and convert the honest and industrious labourer into a hardy and unprincipled villain; whilst the law, as Adam Smith observes,¹ contrary to all the ordinary principles of justice, first creates the temptation, and then punishes those who yield to it; and commonly enhances the punishment in proportion to the very circumstance which ought to alleviate it,—the temptation to commit the crime.

Of the baneful and immoral effects of attempts to collect excessive taxes, the opinion of Montesquieu² is in perfect unison with those just referred to. There are (says he) instances, where the tax is *seventeen times* the intrinsic worth of the merchandize.

A tax so excessive must occasion frauds; which cannot be corrected by mere confiscations. Government is then driven to have recourse to extravagant pains and penalties, such as should only be inflicted on the greatest crimes; all proportion of punishment is done away; and men, who can hardly be considered as culpable, must be punished as atrocious criminals. What can we suppose these two political writers would have said, if they had

¹ Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book 5, chap. 2.

² Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, Liv. 13, chap. 8. This is a free translation of the original sentence (as it reads in my edition, 1844). What follows is a paraphrase of Montesquieu.

lived to witness in this free country an example of taxation where the duty, instead of *seventeen* times, amounted to *forty* times the original price and value of the article? and where (as has been generally observed) all those immoral and criminal effects have continued to result from it, which they had mentioned as the necessary consequences of so unwise and disproportioned a rate of taxation.

In the second passage the writer enters into details of the working of these salt duties :

I must beg leave to refer to my letter to Mr. Vansittart, for the circumstance there stated—of two young men, who were executed a few years ago in Cheshire, for defending their plunder by shooting at an exciseman. They appeared to be by far the least culpable of the gang. At the gallows they confessed that '*petty thefts in salt works* were the origin and cause of their criminal habits, and of the unhappy termination of lives, which might otherwise have been a blessing to the community.' Information which I have since received, convinces me that the infection spreads more widely than I had supposed. 'To our poor' (says my correspondent, an active magistrate of Penzance) 'the temptation of smuggling an article so easily concealed and so universally in request, is commonly too great for them to resist, although at the expense of perjury and detection. Of its demoralizing effects—I never had any doubt; but since I have been acting as a magistrate in this town, I find the evil far greater than I suspected. *Search warrants, hearings, and convictions*, are matters of constant recurrence.' But there is another inconvenience, from the excessive amount of the Salt duties, which could hardly have been foreseen. In the salt hundreds of Cheshire it is very difficult to convict for felony. The thieves, housebreakers, and highwaymen almost always commence their career by salt stealing, and there are few persons there who have not been, at some time and in some degree, implicated in the offence of purchasing stolen salt; so that (as I am informed by three of the most respectable and active magistrates in the county) it is almost impracticable to get the farmers and others to give evidence in many cases of felony, and where smugglers and stealers of salt are convicted, the fine, if not very heavy, is readily and immediately raised by a contribution from their customers, paid, in order to secure themselves from informations for purchasing stolen salt.

I conclude this article with an extract from a letter, which I

have just received from a very distinguished magistrate of that county.—‘On the subject of the salt duties as they affect the morals of the people, the evil produced is so great, that it can scarcely be too strongly stated. A man begins his career of villainy by stealing salt; thinking it not a very serious offence. The loss to the owner is trifling, and a fraud on the revenue is not connected in his mind with any idea of moral turpitude. Our farmers and shopkeepers cannot resist the temptation of buying stolen salt; and it is almost impossible for any laws to be so framed as to prevent the practice. I really think it is the duty of government, to consider in some degree the frailty of human nature, and not to create temptation too great for the common run of men to withstand! We pay too dear for revenue when the price is public morality.—We have an army of excisemen round the works, constantly on the watch to prevent depredations, but no vigilance can guard against the removal of an article (not possible to be missed) during some intervals of each twenty-four hours; and when this is offered for sale up and down the county, at a fourth or eighth part of the price which must be paid for it in open market, it cannot be expected that many would refrain through principle from becoming purchasers. Thus a great portion of the community becomes implicated and leagued together as it were, in a system of knavery. The morals of the lower classes are certainly much worse than they were. There are several gangs of thieves settled in several parts of the county and known to the magistrates, who have been committing all kinds of felonies for years, and yet cannot be brought to justice. I am confident they owe their security in great measure, to the hold which they have over the interests of the small farmers, and this must be chiefly attributed to the unfair dealings, which they know are constantly taking place, with respect to the buying and selling of salt.’

Sir Thomas Bernard had the satisfaction of witnessing the appointment of a Committee, during the ensuing session of Parliament, to inquire into the working of the salt duties. His biographer adds :

The encouragement which this held out animated him to increasing exertion and rendered his labour, in procuring evidence and suggesting matter for the Report, incessant and unwearied; so as to make him indifferent to frequent short illnesses which attacked him, and to render his friends anxious concerning the effect it might produce on his constitution.

The apprehensions of the family were not, however, sufficiently excited, it would seem, to modify the round of daily life. It so happens that Francis Bernard-Morland's diary for this year, 1818, kept in very brief style, but with great regularity, in a pocket-book, is still in existence; and it shows that Sir Thomas was able, in the early months of the year, to see friends, though perhaps not at all times.

On New Year's Day he called at his brother's house; the event was there celebrated by a dinner which Sir Thomas evidently did not attend, either because he did not feel equal to the occasion, or because he had guests of his own. Both he and Lady Bernard dined with Scrope on February 11, when the coming of age of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland was celebrated; and on the eighteenth the diarist writes:

We all dined at Uncle and Aunt Bernard['s] to meet Dr Paris, Messrs. Sparks Carter & Brande, & the Barrⁿ [Barringtons] Prices & Vincents in the eveng.

The three last names all formed part of the same connection. From Mary Ann's diary it appears that she attended a masquerade at Stowe, in honour of Lord Temple's coming of age, on February 25; his real birthday, like hers, was the 11th. She also chronicles the arrival of her sister and brother-in-law, Captain and Mrs. Pigott, in town to stay, and her mother's ball in May.

Probably one of Sir Thomas's last business meetings took place on March 25, when his nephew Francis writes: ¹ 'Go with Father to Uncle Sir Thos's for an hour's consultation at 11. Royal Institute Library Meeting at 2.' This apparently means that the consultation was connected with the same subject as the subsequent meeting. On two more occasions the Bernard-Morlands dined in Wimpole Street, and Sir Thomas occasionally called at his brother's house. Mrs. Bernard-Morland gave a ball on May 19,² which shows that nothing more than vague uneasiness was

¹ Diary of Francis Bernard-Morland.

² Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.

felt regarding the health of the head of the family. He paid a call in Parliament Street on June 10; this is entered by his nephew, and was probably intended as a farewell visit preparatory to his departure from London. What remains to be told may be found in the biography by another nephew, James Baker : ¹

A troublesome cough, which increased during this period, and the conviction of standing greatly in need of leisure to recruit his overworked powers of mind and body, induced him to leave London at the earliest possible time; and from medical advice he proceeded to Leamington Spa in the middle of June. On his journey he wrote the following letter to the Bishop of Durham, who had been kindly solicitous about his health :

‘ June 16, 1818

‘ Your Lordship’s kind advice will, I trust, be not thrown away upon me. If you had thought as I did on the subject of the Salt Duties, I am persuaded you would have done the same, and sacrificed petty personal motives of corporeal health and enjoyment to an inquiry that promised such extensive benefit.

‘ My opinion was not hastily adopted, but the result of mature investigation. The advantages which the country would derive from the allowed use of salt for Cattle and hay were established beyond controversy, and it only required the statement of a few incontrovertible facts to show, that the Parliamentary allowance of salt for cattle of last year was idle and nugatory; incumbered with penalties and forfeitures sufficient to deter any one from venturing to act under it.

‘ There was reason to believe that the use of salt as a manure, when ascertained and understood, might make a considerable addition to the farmer’s produce and profits throughout the kingdom; and that the relief which might be safely given to our fishermen would considerably increase their trade and their means of employment. These were great public advantages, and of the first class. When therefore I had obtained a Committee of the House of Commons, favourable in other respects, except that there was no individual to take the burden of conducting the inquiry, I could not reconcile to my mind the sparing myself any trouble for such an object. I therefore took the whole trouble of correspondence and arrangement in the early part, and a considerable

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard.*

part of it throughout, besides supplying a good deal of material evidence myself.

‘The evidence was long, complicated, and in some instances contradictory; but it produced its desired effect of convincing those Members of Government who attended the Committee, that an allowance of salt ought to be made for Agriculture, at a duty of half-a-crown a bushel, the amount I proposed; and that some relief must be granted to the Fisheries. We were therefore assured that, short as the time was, such an Act should be passed for Agriculture, and as it was then impracticable to pass an Act as to the Fisheries, they should be relieved by an order of the Treasury, until the subject of the Salt Duties could be again taken up and settled at the beginning of the next Session.

‘This your Lordship will suppose was very satisfactory to me. I am daily expecting a copy of the Act, and an outline of what is intended by the Treasury; in order that I may submit any suggestions that occur on the latter—and on the former be able to circulate the Act with any information which may induce and enable farmers to take advantage of it.

‘Such is the nature of my apology, and of the motives that have induced me to try the strength of my constitution, more than I would have done for a lesser object.’

This letter, however much it might enhance the esteem of the writer's friends, was not calculated to dispel their apprehensions, and the result justified their worst fears.

On the 19th of June [continues the biographer], Sir Thomas arrived at Leamington, and though not feeling quite well, was able to take his accustomed walking exercise that evening, and the next morning; but a severe and painful complaint, attended with much fever, rapidly reduced his strength; and he continued excessively ill for above thirty hours; after which he amended in some degree, and thought himself better, and wrote thus to his friend Sir Robert Harvey, on the 25th: ‘If it had been in my power, I should have written to you sooner.—I have had so violent an attack of bilious fever since I have been here, as almost to disqualify me from doing anything. What I should have done without the tender and unremitting attentions of my Charlotte, God only knows.’—He went out in his carriage on the 27th, and again on the 30th. His complaint seemed to be subdued, and although his weakness was great, his uniform habits of exertion continued unaltered until the morning of the 1st of July, when, after an

attempt to take his breakfast at ten o'clock, increasing bodily weakness, attended with apparent dropsical affection, terminated his valuable life without a struggle before mid-day.

He died as he had lived, labouring in the cause of humanity to the last. Mr. Baker remarks :

That this fatal event was hastened, if not caused, by the extreme exertion which he had taken upon himself, in promoting an object which he was fully persuaded to be of the greatest public importance, and that he was aware of the effects which that exertion might produce on the state of his health, cannot be doubted. But in this he only followed the same rule which he had laid down for himself in all his former undertakings, viz. to put all personal considerations out of his mind. From the time that he became independent of his professional occupations, his only thought was, how his zeal and activity could be applied so as to be most conducive to the public good ; more particularly as regarded the lower classes of society. . . . In these and such like labours no one ever applied himself with more disinterested zeal, no one could congratulate himself on more signal success. These are the subjects of the most effectual consolation to his surviving friends ; for on these they rest their hopes, as the evidence of that sincerity of Christian faith, which, through the merits of our Blessed Redeemer, has marked him as His true disciple here on earth, and an inheritor of the glorious and eternal Kingdom in Heaven.

On receiving the melancholy tidings of Sir Thomas's death, his brother, from thenceforth Sir Scrope Bernard-Morland, hastened to Leamington, and spent some days in consoling and assisting his widow. The immediate cause of death was ascertained to be ' water on the chest.'

Many carriages of friends who had helped in his various works of mercy, attended the remains of Sir Thomas Bernard to their resting-place. The last rites took place in the Foundling Hospital. Francis Bernard-Morland says :

The funeral on the 10th was the most affecting scene possible. The service was performed by my brother Tom's old schoolmaster at Shacklewell, Mr. Hewlett, and the children accompanied us to the chapel, the boys on one side and girls on the other. On our

return we called on my Aunt in Wimpole Street, and were so stupefied that we could not think of conversation, and as for the will, although I daresay my cousin James might have read it very distinctly, we left the house as wise as we entered.

Francis really meant what he said ; there is a letter ¹ to his cousin extant, in which he renounces some possible claim derived from his uncle's will, in a manner which shows that he was deeply moved by the recent bereavement.

Sir Thomas Bernard was buried, in accordance with his express desire, beside his first wife in the vault or 'catacomb' under the chapel of the Foundling Hospital ; and, many years later, the remains of his widow were borne thither. Their names may still be read by those who care to descend and search ; but although there are many memorials in the lobbies of the chapel to other persons connected with the institution, no tablet records the services of Sir Thomas Bernard. His portrait ² by Opie, which had hung in one of the rooms, apparently passed into the possession of the Rev. James Baker, his nephew and executor ; and the only indications of his interest in the well-being of the Hospital, where he spent fifteen of his best years, are contained in sundry inscriptions on its walls, registering his donations, among those of many other benefactors. In other respects he seems to be forgotten, there as elsewhere.

To this statement, indeed, an exception must be made, because his work has met of late years with recognition from a totally unexpected quarter. Inasmuch as Mr. G. J. Holyoake was in all respects outside these influences, his testimony ³ is the more valuable. He was evidently not well acquainted with the parentage or early life of Sir Thomas, nor did he exactly realise his position with regard to the Society

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² It still, I believe, belongs to one of his descendants. The Foundling Hospital I have myself visited.

³ *Self-Help a Hundred Years Ago*, by George Jacob Holyoake.

for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, of which he was really the originator. But his appreciation of the Society's work is remarkable, in these days, when the general feeling is that our ancestors—all, except political agitators—did nothing for humanity.

Mr. Holyoake first published the main facts of his book¹ in the 'Co-operative News,' and found that his statements attracted interest both in England and America. 'Mr. Morgan Brierly (Delph),' he says, 'a connoisseur in social literature,' writes: 'I have read the articles on "Social Ideas 100 Years Ago." It is like exploring the *débris* of an ancient gold mine, in which nuggets of the purest ore are occasionally to be found.' The requests which reached the editor of the 'Co-operative News' for the reprint of those articles in a separate form, led to the publication of the volume entitled 'Self-Help.' Mrs. Holyoake brought forward the name of Sir Thomas Bernard in the 'Englishwoman's Review,' as the first man who appears to have sought an improvement of the condition of women, in those days—especially in the lower ranks—very much at the mercy of their husbands; while marriage was almost a necessity in their position, and at the same time they had practically very little choice as to the man in whose power they were bound to place themselves.

It is satisfactory to know that the tax which proved the instrument of bringing his valuable life to a sudden termination did not long remain law. I am not able to relate all the arguments urged in Parliament against its repeal—those in favour of its abolition have been to a great extent told in these pages. The facts brought forward by Sir Thomas seem to have been generally accepted. The following extract from an American work² gives some insight into the debate on this subject in the year following his death:

It was acknowledged (said Lord Ebrington, in the House of

¹ *Self-Help a Hundred Years Ago*, chap. xv.

² *An Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States of America*, by Robert Walsh, Esq. (1819); published in London and Philadelphia (Note to Preface).

Commons, April 28th, 1819), that a labourer, whose income did not exceed 18*l.* a year, paid 27*s.* a year duty on the salt he consumed. Dr. Phillimore, in the course of his speech of the same date, respecting the salt duties, made this statement: 'The bushel of salt is taxed at forty times its value, and the tax falls upon the necessities of the poor. No tax operates more upon their morals; and it had been found that, wherever it prevailed, it was the sure forerunner of crime.'

The tax did not, of course, yield at once to these arguments, which, indeed, were only the same that had been urged long before; but every blow made an impression, and it was more speedily removed than many of the other evils which Sir Thomas Bernard had combated. In 1823, only five years after his death, the salt duties were abolished.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE SISTERS—FANNY KING AND JULIA SMITH

Hannah More's Correspondence with Mrs. King—Mrs. King settles at Gateshead—Death of Mary More—Death of Patty More—Hannah More leaves Barley Wood for Bath—Her Death—Verses by Julia Smith—Reading accomplished by Fanny King and Julia Smith—Their Views on Education—Wreck of the 'St. George,' and 'Defence'—Marriage of Bernard Smith—Mrs. Smith's Travels—Lady Lyttelton—Rev. William Lisle Bowles—A School set up by Lady Lansdowne—Poverty in Melksham—A Breakfast with Walter Scott—Publication of 'The Rector's Memorandum Book.'

How far the acquaintance between Miss Hannah More and Mrs. King had been kept up I am unable to say; two letters,¹ which were published by Mr. Roberts in his biography, belong to a period following closely on Mr. King's death; they may have been the only ones inserted, because no others were forthcoming; or, possibly, because the rest contained no matter—in his estimation—of general interest. The first, indeed, establishes the fact that Mrs. King had continued a subscription to the Mendip charities. In all likelihood Miss More, even if no correspondence had been kept up, wrote on receiving intelligence of Mr. King's death, and this letter led to further interchange.

Hannah More had quitted Cowslip Green so early as 1802, probably in consequence, partly, of the persecution which had disturbed some years of her life there; the distance of the new residence was, indeed, only about a mile, but it was thus far removed from annoyance. She

¹ The letters would be, of course, in Mrs. King's possession, and must have been given, or lent, to Mrs. More's biographer after her death. Mrs. King's letters were probably not preserved by Mrs. More, who had a very large correspondence; or, if they escaped destruction while she lived, were burned by her executors.

was able to obtain a piece of land on a picturesque and elevated situation, and sufficiently large to allow not only for the erection of a more spacious dwelling than the cottage at Cowslip Green, but also for the arrangement of grounds according to the taste of the owners. The three sisters in Bath were so charmed with the place that they left the house in Bath, which they had built themselves not very many years before, and went to live entirely in the new home, from which the following letter is dated :

Barley Wood, Nov. 6, 1811.

My dear Madam,—Your interesting letter written in August, deserved earlier notice ; I must defer to account for my silence, till I have requested you to stop your kind benefaction to the Shipham Club, you being the only member that has not discontinued it, since sickness and infirmity have compelled us to give up the public meeting. Our friends regret losing their annual pleasant day, but we are no longer equal to the fatigue.¹

And evidently there was no one to take the place of these ladies, in any small degree. Nothing but the Annual Meeting had been then relinquished, but this was a first symptom of further inevitable changes.

Mrs. More continues :

You will be surprised to hear what a Rambler I have been. I, who never reckoned on going again out of my own little circle, took courage the beginning of August to set out with Patty on a long promised visit to our excellent friend Mr Gisborne,² at his forest in Staffordshire. The forest indeed is destroyed, at which I was disposed to be dissatisfied. But when I saw near ten thousand acres of yellow harvest, when I saw a beautiful new church erected, and a handsome parsonage built and endowed, and my admirable friend preaching to a good congregation, in a place so lately the shelter of thieves, and poachers, and vagabonds, I gave up my romance in favour of such solid improvements. Mr Gisborne, and some other gentlemen still possess a beautiful piece of forest about their respective habitations.

Mr G. spends his large fortune in a most liberal manner. His

¹ *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More*, by William Roberts, Esq., vol. iii., chap. iv. (Second Edition).

² The Rev. Thomas Gisborne, mentioned in vol. iii., chaps. xi. and xviii.

establishment is large, and his manner of living elegantly hospitable. We had an excellent society in the house, which is the abode of talents, piety, and benevolence.

My journey was of service to me on the whole. The chief benefit, I reaped from it, was that it improved my sleep, which I had never recovered since my great illness. Patty's complaint in her head continues. It has extremely affected her hearing, and her eyes are so weak and inflamed, that she can scarcely read or write; this is a great trial to her; and my two elder sisters are very infirm.

I am very sorry not to have had the pleasure of seeing Mr Collinson, but he was so circumstanced, that I could not reasonably expect it. I hope he received a copy of 'Practical Piety,' which I directed Cadell to send him. I should have ordered one for you, but did not know where to find you.

Your future plan of life, my dear Madam, will, I trust, prove as comfortable as it is rational. I hope it will please God to sanctify to you every trial, and to make your remaining days days of peace. Should you ever visit this part of the world, I hope you will not forget your friends at Barley Wood. I must venture to direct at random. If you are at Gateshead pray remember me kindly,

Yours, my dear Madam,
Very faithfully

H. MORE.

Mr. Collinson had probably visited Somersetshire to attend the funeral of Mr. Henry King, who did not long survive his brother. 'Practical Piety' was one of Hannah More's most important literary works.

From the foregoing letter it would seem that Mrs. King had not left Steeple Morden in August 1811; perhaps the new Vicar was in no hurry to reside. The 'plan of life' referred to by Mrs. More no doubt meant residence near Mrs. King's two daughters; and the uncertainty as to her address implies that in November she might have moved. And indeed, she must have been at Gateshead about that time, since in January 1812 she writes¹ from that place, to her brother Scrope, a letter which shows that the society of her

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

daughters and grandchildren had revived her naturally excellent spirits. It is partly on business, but continues :

I am not unmindful of the various domestic festivities of your family at this season, and wish you all many happy returns of it ; pray present my best love to your good lady, and tell her I shall drink her health, and offer up my good wishes for her on the 19th.—I hope you are all comfortably settled for the winter, enjoying health and spirits.—I am as happy as I possibly can be, dividing my time between my two daughters, who make their houses so comfortable to me, I have not thought of any other home at present.

She had been residing with Mrs. Collinson at Gateshead ; but in the following August she tells her brother that she is furnishing a house ; and by September it was apparently sufficiently complete for Mrs. King to be reposing after her exertions with Mrs. Baker at Whitburn. Her sister Mrs. White, was then staying at Winchendon with Mrs. Scope Bernard, and the visit is noticed in this letter :

I make no doubt she highly enjoys the delightful scenes of her youth, and doubly so from their improved state.—I often think if dear Mrs Beresford could look down on the improvements made there, she would be highly gratified ; she used to consider it as too forlorn a place for anyone but herself to inhabit, and did not look forward to a successor that would love and improve the place as you have done.

I shall partake in idea, the festivities of the 15th, and we shall all drink the health of the discreet young gentleman on the occasion.

The last paragraph refers to her nephew, Thomas Tyringham's, attainment of 'years of discretion.' As already stated, he came of age on September 15 in this year (1812).

Mrs. King had not been long settled in her new home at Gateshead when she found work for herself, as she had previously wherever she lived. There was, no doubt, plenty of scope for her exertions in her son-in-law's parish, more especially as his wife must have been somewhat hampered in fulfilling her share of the work by her numerous and increasing family. The population consisted chiefly of

colliers and their households, and they were undoubtedly a difficult class to deal with ; but she is said to have won their gratitude and affection. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain any particulars of her work, although her descendants have continued to hold it in honour, beyond the statements, in the 'Short Memoir' prefixed to 'Female Scripture Characters,' that she was at Gateshead

a mother to the poor, a 'Dorcas full of good works and almsdeeds which she did.' She not only established a large Sunday school, a Sick Fund, and Clothing Society, but was constant in her superintendence of these institutions, and in visiting the poor at their own houses ; and these charities were carried on in privacy, without departing from those retired habits which she thought best suited to the female character.

In 1813 Mrs. Hannah More wrote to Mr. Collinson, thanking him warmly for a present of volumes from his new edition of Hooker. After some lines on the beauty of Hooker's language, she adds :

I approve much of your judgement in bringing forward these excellent old writers. Hooker is a proper successor to Thuanus ! Your valuable 'Analysis' will, I trust do great good to others, as the publication does credit to yourself.

I sincerely congratulate you on such a patronage as that of the Bishop of Durham. It is honourable to you, and I am very glad that the very fine situation in which he has placed you is so busy a one as will call out all the energies of your mind and all the exertions of your piety. May it please God to give you His grace, that you may fill your important station with zeal and faithfulness to the souls of those committed to your trust ! This I am sure is the best prayer I can offer for you.

I desire to be kindly remembered to Mrs Collinson, in which my Sisters desire to unite.

About this time Mary More,¹ the eldest of the sisters, the woman who had opened a school in her twentieth year and carried it on most successfully with the help of Elizabeth and Sarah, departed this life. To this loss Hannah feelingly alludes in a letter she wrote to Mrs. King, thanking

¹ *Memoir*, by Roberts, vol. iii., part iv., chap. iv.

her for the gift of a book which could only be 'Female Scripture Characters'; although called in this letter 'your new work,' it was so termed probably because it was new to the writer of the letter, and in all likelihood belonged to the last new edition, bearing the date of the actual year.¹

September 10, 1813.

My dear Madam,—I fear I must have suffered the imputation of incivility and ingratitude in not having sooner thanked you for your very kind remembrance of me, in sending me your new work, which by some blunder of the bookseller, I have but very lately received. Though I have not yet had time to peruse one half of it, I have read enough to be very much pleased with it. The thought was a happy one, and now you have worked it out, it strikes me with wonder that it was never adopted before. The pleasing manner in which you have treated the subject, and the familiar illustrations you have made use of, will, I trust, render it both interesting and useful to the general reader, and particularly for that class of readers for which you particularly designed it.

You have doubtless heard of the breach which death has made in our family. My poor sister suffered much from long weakness, but her end was calm and resigned, and I trust her exchange a happy one. She was not only willing, but at last impatient to depart, so that our sorrow was mingled with much consolation. My own health and that of my sister Patty is broken and infirm, yet we are still, except in severe weather, able to attend our schools; we keep up about seven hundred children, besides receiving the parents who attend in the evening. Our teachers were mostly bred up by ourselves, so that our plans were pretty well maintained.

After having spent thirty-five winters in London, I have never ventured thither since my last great illness; and indeed I had entirely renounced all idea of another long journey. I was however seduced by my delightful friend Lady Olivia Sparrow to make her a visit at her seat in Huntingdonshire. Our enjoyment was a good deal marred by my being severely ill for a fortnight. When I grew better I yielded to the entreaties of my dear old friend, Lord Barham, to extend my journey to Kent, to pay him a last visit. Patty and I set out and were within twenty miles of Barham Court, when the news of his unexpected death stopped us

¹ In Roberts's *Memoir* this letter appears before the one to Mr. Collinson; but as there is no date to the latter that arrangement may not be right.

short. It was an awful and instructive lesson! We spent a few days with Mr Wilberforce, &c, but I did not venture to enter London. I had too many friends there, and was afraid of the bustle, late hours, &c.

We have been a little overdone with company this summer. The more I endeavour to retire from the world, the more new acquaintance and additional visitors seem to introduce themselves at Barley Wood. I have, however, the satisfaction of finding a great increase of piety, especially in the higher classes; let us pray that this may be daily multiplied. We are led to expect a new work from Mr Collinson

Yours most faithfully

H. MORE.

Lord Barham¹ was an admiral. He was Sir Charles Middleton in 1805, when the catastrophe occurred to Lord Melville, formerly Henry Dundas, who had been Secretary of State during the last period of Scrope Bernard's Under-Secretaryship. The charges of peculation brought against Lord Melville led to his resignation of the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and are supposed to have hastened the death of Pitt, who had been his friend and colleague for many years. Sir Charles was appointed at Pitt's recommendation, notwithstanding his great age, and created Lord Barham, but he quitted office in less than a year.

Lady Olivia Bernard Sparrow has been mentioned in the first volume of this family History, in the chapter devoted to the Bernards of Huntingdonshire.²

It is not unlikely that Mrs. King may have visited the More sisterhood in 1814. She found her way to Melksham in that year, and may have discovered an opportunity of going on to Somersetshire, where she must have had many friends. But, if so, this was probably the farewell meeting. Hannah More, indeed, lived to very old age, surviving Mrs. King many years, but her powers of endurance were sensibly diminished, and she avoided travelling.

One by one her sisters departed. Two of them, indeed, had

¹ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George III.*, vol. iii., chap. lxi.

² *The Bernards of Abington, &c.*, vol. i., chap. iv., 'The Bernards of Huntingdon and Brampton.'

long been invalids ; but in 1819 even Patty, whom she had looked upon as her child, was taken after only four days' alarming illness. Deeply was she lamented by the poor, in whose service so much of her life had been spent. Up to this time religious and charitable gatherings had occasionally taken place on a large scale at Barley Wood ; but if not entirely given up, these must now have diminished in numbers and frequency. The saddest part of the story is that the servants of the house, to whom Mrs. More had been always an indulgent mistress, taking advantage of her increasing weakness and solitary condition, misconducted themselves to an extent which became a flagrant scandal, and she was persuaded by friends to sell Barley Wood and retire to Bath, 'driven,' as she expressed it, 'like Eve from Paradise, but not, like Eve, by angels.' Her last days were guarded, and solaced by the attentions of those who loved and appreciated her. She died in 1833, at the age of eighty-eight.¹

For many years the home at Melksham was spared from fresh bereavements, at least in its own immediate circle. Julia Smith, indeed, was never, probably, quite free from anxiety for her son Bernard, now her only hope. But her spirits to a great extent recovered their tone. She made attempts occasionally at expressing her feelings in verse, as when, in 1810, a long stay at Torquay with friends had evidently delighted her, and she exclaims :

O charm of life, sweet social intercourse,
Affection's tie and kindred's tender claim,
And all the joys of friendship's hallow'd source,
I now must leave you !

The verses are addressed to 'Miss W.,' who was evidently a relation, but I cannot identify her. Julia expatiates on their readings of Richardson ; also 'Loch Katrine's Fair and Snowdon's gallant Knight' ; on their walks about the hills and climbs up the rocks ; and the harp, 'soft soother of the soul,' which probably enlivened their evenings ; and finishes with :

¹ Roberts's *Memoirs of Mrs. Hannah More*, vols. iii. and iv.

No more on yonder bank allowed to roam,
 In duty's beaten track I now must tread ;
 My suffering poor, and thou my peaceful home,
 I must not leave you !

She was apparently taking her parochial duties, as well as her household duties, in right earnest, yet felt unhappy if debarred altogether from reading ; and the difficulty of finding opportunities for everything suggested the following entry in a memorandum-book :

It is usual enough to borrow money, clothes, plate, various articles of necessary accommodation from those who have to spare, and are not immediately using them,—how valuable an accommodation it would be if we could now and then borrow an hour or two of those, (for many there are) who have more than they want or can make any use of,—nay, who are sometimes burthened with the valuable commodity—time. How clever it would be if, as often happens, we have many matters of indispensable family arrangement, letters—attention to distressed persons—and an earnest longing for a little quiet study, if we could then say—Betty, step & beg the favour of Miss Dawdle to lend me two or three hours this morning.

But then I am afraid we must add a request for the loan of a few faculties which perhaps might not so easily be got from the same place,—for our own powers, as we are continually painfully reminded, are very limited. We cannot keep them in exercise too long ; the bow must be bent or it would lose its elasticity.¹

Fanny King and Julia Smith both accomplished a considerable amount of solid reading in addition to their other avocations, as appears from the authors quoted in 'Female Scripture Characters' and from Julia's numerous memoranda. The ideas of the sisters on the education of their own sex were somewhat similar ; indeed, Julia had probably been much influenced by Fanny in her young days, and they had, no doubt, frequently discussed the topic since. 'Letters of the Swedish Court' to a certain extent advocate the same view of life which prompted Fanny's early effort, 'The

¹ The following extracts are all from Julia Smith's Memoranda.

Rector's Memorandum Book.' In one of Julia's notes on the literature of the day she says :

I want novels, or supposititious stories and characters, in which there is neither romantic love at first sight,—disobedience,—cruel and tyrannical parents—contempt of age, knowledge, and wisdom—faintings, screams,—idolatry, forwardness, obstinacy and perverseness, rewarded with the attainment of their object,—sense, reason, forethought frightened into the rear, and totally inefficient;—in which natural characters improved by education shall act under the influence of reason, honour, and religion, still however being natural, and giving valuable lessons from experience.

And the writer deprecates the mania for superficial acquirements, together with the results they are intended to achieve, with as much severity as Fanny, but a severity not unmixed with humour :

It strikes me, as it has done many others, that there is infinite absurdity and error in the system, as now practised, of *coming out*. A girl is kept up to be plastered over with showy acquisitions—then—when her shape and figure are ready, she is to burst forth and be seen everywhere, like a paper just printed, as if she had existed all that time only to be shown off at last,—instead of that portion of her life having been a gradual growth of usefulness, self denial, and the exercise of those virtues which will make her valuable here, and happy hereafter.

The following entry is still more satirical :

The mind of a young lady, under the present multifarious plan of acquirements,—harp, singing, botany, japanning, chemistry, painting on velvet, making shoes and hats, reminds one of the shops one sees in a petty country town, where bread, combs, gingerbread, blacking, lard, brushes, butter, onions, and old shoes, are intermingled, and some pretty closely incorporated together.

The visit to London already noticed, early in 1810, suggested reflections on the intellectual opportunities afforded by a large town and the moral advantages of a country life, especially in the matter of quiet. Julia, however, thoroughly appreciated this visit from many points of view—the family gatherings, the openings for acquiring knowledge, and also

the spiritual privileges. She particularly mentions an excellent sermon from a Mr. White on the Fast Day, February 28.

The deaths of her two brothers-in-law, Mr. White and Mr. King, that same year were followed by a startling catastrophe in December of 1811 affecting the Baltic fleet :

The St George 98 and Defence 74 guns were on the 24th inst. wrecked opposite Jutland, and of 1400 souls only 18 gained the land. On board the St George was S. Tristram, brother of Miss Tristram, our relation, who lives with us ; the sorrow has been heavy indeed and greatly affected us all.

Another serious accident, a fall from her horse, was, happily, without ulterior mischief, and a little while later Mrs. Smith records exultingly, in 1812 :

On Trinity Sunday, May 24, in this year, my son Bernard Smith was ordained deacon at Oxford, by that Bishop—Sept 29 he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Gloucester at Winchester, —only himself ordained—Oct the 4th he first read prayers at Seend Church.

Oct 11th—I had the satisfaction to hear him read prayers at Melksham, his Father preaching ; and a subject of real thankfulness it was to me, after the numerous anxieties I had occasionally felt on his account, to hear him with a clear and strong voice go through the service of our Church. On Sunday Nov. 22^d he read in at his living of Great Ponton, presented by his Father as a minor prebend of Sarum.

These important steps were followed, it may almost be said, in accordance with the custom of the Church of England, by another, also important :

Nov 13 My son was married at Lincoln to Justina Brown. They came to us on the 17th and remained with us till March 24.

Justina Brown's family has been already mentioned. She had a sister married to the Rev. Charles White, cousin of Bernard Smith ; another sister, in 1814, married the Rev. John Cracroft, second son of the squire of Hackthorn, Lincolnshire. A year later, on ' Sunday, Nov. 13th, ' 1813, Mrs. Smith writes :

This day twelvemonth my son was happily united to the woman of his choice; and great cause have we to be thankful for the comfort that has resulted to him from this union.

There are occasional notices of persons and topics in the manuscripts which struck the writer as worth recording. Africans and Mohammedans were not then so common in England as they have been since, and it was something to have met a native of Mogadore, in Barbary, at a country-house; the locality is not stated. He had, indeed, been nine years in our island, but retained some at least of his old ideas:

One of the company rallying him upon their marriages, which are entirely managed by the father and mother, he retaliated with some wit and drollery upon the result of our self-chosen connections;—before marriage all politeness, quick attention,—in few weeks all rudeness and neglect; his conversation was upon the whole, amusing from its cheerfulness and the singularity of the circumstances.

Its most entertaining portion appears to have been the African gentleman's relation of his adventures with wild beasts—not self-sought, but encountered in the ordinary course of travel.

The marriage topic was elsewhere curiously illustrated in a story narrated by a Miss Maynard, in Clifton, at the house of Mrs. Pigot, a very charming Shropshire lady. The story was that a young married lady, being unhappy in her union, wrote a letter incriminating herself falsely, as the only mode of escape. She took care that it should fall into her husband's hands, and expected him to sue for a divorce, instead of which he shut her up in a castle for thirty years, at the end of which time his death released her, and she came back to society, unimpaired in health and more agreeable than ever—having employed her long period of captivity in cultivating her mind—for which purpose she had been allowed a liberal use of books.

Mrs. Smith adds, to this strange story:

Query?—was it possible for her, upon any Christian injunction, to love that man, or even heartily to forgive him?

A tour, made in 1814, through Malmesbury, Cirencester, Cheltenham, and Tewkesbury, to Malvern, exemplifies the disposition of travellers in that day to exaggerate the grandeur of English scenery, a happy result of not being familiar with foreign countries. Every place, too, is charming, except Cheltenham. The writer's interest in the development of primary education—a feature of the day—is also striking. The churches and other noticeable features of the towns are duly chronicled until, on leaving Cirencester, she says :

A most beautiful and commanding view at the top of Brierley Hill including a most extensive valley round Gloucester, and terminated by Malvern hills ; the road from thence to Cheltenham romantic and pleasant, but this latter town a miserable hot cooped up place, of all others I ever saw people resort to the last I could endure to pass any part of the summer in, multitudes of men sitting in the street by the Reading Room doors, in a most ungentlemanly manner. Ladies, by way of airing, driving up and down a long street on a hot day, seeming much amused ; the roads being so hilly, and the turnpikes so high,—1/- that they seldom pass beyond the town.

At Malvern it amazes the diarist to behold on the side of 'the wild broken hill, almost perpendicular in its rise,' zig-zag paths cut in various directions, 'in which you see donkies bearing up and down ladies at the apparent hazard of their safety, but without positive danger.' Under the date of 'Sunday, Sept 4,' she writes :

Visited the Sunday School, where I was much gratified to observe how well regulated it was, and in how pleasing a manner the children read and repeat. This is chiefly owing to the continued attention and exertions of Lady Lyttelton, who was there with Honble Mrs Yorke. I passed some time with them in the evening. Lady Lyttelton is a character of great energy and activity ; seemingly earnest to do all the good in her power, and of a superior cast of ability, pleasing and gentlewomanly in her deportment—At the Jubilee she gave a Fête to as many poor persons in this place as were the King's age and upwards, and collected about seventy, who were much gratified of course.

Lady Lyttelton was the widow of the Lord Lyttelton¹ (who had been Lord Westcote), and stepmother of Scrope Bernard's early friend, George Fulke Lyttelton, who had succeeded to the peerage; he never married, so that she was the only Lady Lyttelton at the time;² and was daughter of John Bristow, Esq., of Quidenham Hall, Norfolk.

Bernard Smith now joined his parents, and excursions were made to Little Malvern and Eastnor Castle. Finally, on the 15th :

We left Malvern, where we had passed a fortnight most pleasantly in the full enjoyment of rural scenery, fine air, cheerful and pleasant society, and freedom from care and anxiety, not without the happy opportunity of doing some good by a sermon for the Sunday School, and another little matter. We left Bernard at Worcester, and proceeded that evening to Gloucester, next night Cross Hands, and Saturday home by Bath.

The Rev. William Lisle Bowles, one of the best minor poets of the time, and also known as a writer on local antiquities, and a biographer of Bishop Kerr, then resided at his Vicarage of Bremhill in Wiltshire. The following entry in Julia Smith's 'Memoranda' evidently refers to him, although no place is mentioned. The excursion was apparently commenced on April 13, 1815 :

Spent a night at Mr Bowles', an interesting and conversable evening. Coleridge there and two other gentlemen. He is bright and glowing, but too oratorical; Bowles is put down by his long orations, and interchange of ideas is lost sight of.

It was probably a two days' excursion, such as were usual in the days of bad roads, and are even now sometimes found advisable :

The day following, on our return [continues Julia], we were carried to a most gratifying scene; a school set up by Lady Lansdowne of seventy boys and girls, entirely organized, regulated, and kept in perpetual action by a girl not yet fifteen, educated in one of the Bell Schools, and thus enabled, through her steadiness and method, to carry on the instruction of so many children without hurry, confusion, or neglect. The modest, simple, and active

¹ Burke's *Peerage*, 'Lyttelton (Lord, &c. &c.)'

² Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 'Bristow of Broxmore Park.'

attention of this young person to her business, were truly gratifying and interesting, free from all parade or vain-glory; her pleasing looks and manners have occupied my mind for some days and form a pleasing resting-point. This mode of instructing children through one another, and thus raising up teachers for other schools, is one of the most valuable improvements of the present day.

On May 1, Mr. and Mrs. Smith commenced a journey, through several interesting towns, to Grantham in Lincolnshire, where Bernard Smith then resided. The special object of this visit was to attend the christening of the first grandchild—a second Bernard Smith;¹ or possibly his public reception into the Church after a private baptism, which was then often called the ‘christening.’ It appears to have taken place in Lincoln Cathedral.

Here Julia for the first time met the other grand-parents, Mr. and Mrs. Brown, whom she describes as ‘most pleasant, worthy, and amiable people,’ besides ‘many worthy persons, old family friends,’ belonging, no doubt, to the old Lincolnshire days, of which the memory was fast fading; and ‘everybody appeared pleased and pleasing’; the only drawback being the writer’s own bad health, which considerably marred her enjoyment.

It seems likely that Mrs. Smith remained there till July, when she proceeded with her son, daughter-in-law, and their child, to Malvern, meeting Mr. Smith, who had been compelled to return home in the meantime, and they ‘passed three weeks together in that delightful place.’

Julia Smith was, it appears, often laid up for a time, and sometimes for so long as three or four weeks. The work described in the following extract may therefore have tried her strength severely. The passage is dated January, 1817:

. . . The last year ended and this has begun under the constant pressure of a business that has been greatly too much for me at times—the employing the poor women out of work in

¹ Afterwards the Very Rev. Bernard Smith of Marlow. He was one of the first Seceders of the Oxford Movement, is mentioned by Cardinal Newman in his *Apologia* as ‘B.S.’, and was held in high estimation amongst English Romanists and others.

making various articles of clothing to be sold and given away. The earning a little money has cheered and assisted them ; and though I have sometimes seemed quite exhausted, yet after a time and a quiet meal my spirits have risen again, and I have felt enabled to pursue my wearying business, and even with earnestness. I thought how trifling my fatigue should be considered, who could recruit at pleasure, by strengthening meals, warmth, comfortable beds, and quiet sleep, whilst so many poor souls, faint, cold, hopeless, almost destitute of covering by day or by night, had no resource but in patient endurance.

The explanation of this exceptional distress is probably to be found in the following passage, in a 'Cyclopædia,'¹ relating to Melksham :

The proportion of the poor is very great, owing to the manufactories which have again begun to decline, and will probably soon leave the town entirely, as has already taken place with regard to Corsham. Since the introduction of the new process in the cloth manufacture, Melksham has lost the advantages it was formerly supposed to possess in respect of situation on the banks of the Avon.

All, therefore, that Julia and her friends could do was in some measure to break the suddenness of the fall, and give time for consideration as to the means of finding new modes of employment.

The following year, 1818, Mr. and Mrs. Smith took a more extensive and eventful tour. They were once more in Grantham, and Julia mentions three grandchildren. They visited Julia's eldest sister, Mrs. White, in Lincoln, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles White at Branston, after which they proceeded, with their son and his wife, to make an extensive exploration of Yorkshire. Its striking features are duly chronicled by Julia, and even the characteristics of some of the hotels. But perhaps the feeling of being confronted by a different language or dialect was the strangest experience. 'Some of the persons I spoke to I had great difficulty in understanding, and they perhaps found me equally unintelligible,' she says.

¹ *The Cyclopædia or Universal Dictionary*, by Abraham Rees, D.D., &c., &c. (1819).

In driving from Middleton to the Fall on the Tees her interest in education displays itself once more :

A little girl who was walking about the fields knitting, and became our guide, told me with some pride that she had said her Catechism three times in the kirk at Middleton, that her brother was a schoolmaster ;—she had learned to read, and had got a Bible,—and moreover sixteen brothers and sisters, some half-blood.

Entering the county of Durham, the travellers stayed a night at Auckland, where there was no doubt already an hotel,¹ and Julia writes :

Friday morning breakfasted at the Bishop's and proceeded to Durham. In addition to the pleasure of seeing the amiable Bishop in his elegant and splendid palace, in excellent health and cheerfulness, at the age of eighty-five, we enjoyed the unexpected pleasure of breakfasting with Walter Scott, his wife, and daughter. I sat next him, and at first was not aware of the importance of my neighbour ; he is a very mild-looking man with light hair, a strong Scotch accent, a quiet but interesting style of conversation, which at the time was upon the sagacity and virtues of dogs, of which some interesting stories were told by the Bishop as well as by Mr Scott.

The beginning of Scott's acquaintance with the Bishop is related by his son-in-law, Lockhart.² It appears that, in 1812, Scott was on a tour with his wife and two children, and was exploring the picture gallery at Auckland at an early hour, when the Bishop came by, recognised the poet from having seen his portrait, acted as cicerone, and then invited the party to morning service in his chapel, and to breakfast. After which he mounted a spirited horse, being then in his seventy-ninth year, and accompanied his new friends ten miles on their further journey. From that time Mr. Scott, when travelling in the right direction, always made Auckland a halting place.

¹ Murray's *Handbook* mentions the 'Talbot Hotel,' but does not give the date of its construction or its history.

² *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Baronet*, by J. G. Lockhart, vol. iii., chap. i. (Edition of 1837). Sir Walter Scott became a baronet in 1820,

Julia's narrative continues :

Reached Durham that day to dinner—a striking and grand place altogether. The magnificent cathedral perched on a high hill, the river winding round, the three bridges, form a grand *tout ensemble*.

Reached Gateshead in the afternoon to the joy of a large family circle of twelve near relatives without the children.

It probably included the diarist's three nephews, the Bakers, and their wives. Mr. and Mrs. Collinson were no doubt the hosts, but Mrs. King must have been also there ; and her sister, who had probably not seen her for several years, had the opportunity of visiting her in her new home.

On the Monday after—August 24 [writes Julia]—we sat down a happy party of fifteen, two of the children at table, and four more brought over from Whitburn to see us. The weather fine, the situation cheerful and comfortable ; all seemed a state of enjoyment and comfort.

Mrs. King may have formed one of this party, the children would only have made it up to fourteen ; but I am doubtful if she was then equal to the exertions of former days. She was only just sixty, but it is quite possible that the breakdown in her health which was near at hand may have already affected her strength. There was clearly, however, nothing to alarm Julia, who was in the highest spirits all the time.

On August 28 she continues her diary :

My dear Bernard's birthday. We went to Tynemouth in a steam-boat very pleasantly—the place very picturesque, a fine view of the sea, and remains of an old castle. On our return a sort of accident occurred in the boat which occasioned much alarm and put us to great inconvenience,—the steam-bucket bursting with much confusion and hurry on the deck, the steamer suddenly stopped, and we had great difficulty and some hazard in getting on shore, climbing up the ladders of the colliery stage, very high and dangerous,—but arrived at length in safety at home—half-past nine o'clock.

The writer then chronicles a visit to Mrs. King's house in Gateshead—an excursion to Lord Strathmore's seat,

Gibside—and a visit to Whitburn, where the Rev. Thomas Baker, husband of Julia King, was rector, and continues : ‘After passing a week in a pleasant family from eleven to fourteen in number, set out home Sept. 16.’

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Baker had no children of their own ; the party must therefore have been made up by their friends, probably by relatives from Gateshead and elsewhere.

The travellers proceeded by Edendean, Stockton, York, and Doncaster, to Grantham, and a week after their arrival Mr. and Mrs. Smith went on further in the direction of Melksham.

We arrived on Friday Oct 4 after an absence of ten weeks, passed upon the whole most pleasantly among our numerous relatives in the north, some of whom—children—we had never seen before, and some possibly we may never see again. Great cause have we for thankfulness that through travels of seven hundred miles no accident has happened to us, no alarming sickness, but many cheerful amusements have awaited us, beautiful scenery, friendly intercourse, &c.

Julia Smith went on for some years longer in her quiet course of well-doing at Melksham, until her life was disturbed by fresh troubles. Fanny King had a shorter span.

It must have been during this year of meeting that the following lines—from one of Mrs. King’s manuscript books—were composed, headed :

Written in the Souvenir Book of a God-daughter.

Dear Mary, while to memory true
Past scenes of bliss arise,
O keep within thy memory’s view
The bliss that never dies.

And when the world displays its toys,
Wealth, pleasure, and renown,
Think of the world where all such joys
Are utterly unknown.

Remember what *He* once endured
Who lived and died for thee ;
Remember Heaven—and that secured,
Oh then—remember me !

The god-daughter I have not been able to identify, for the writer does not seem to have had any niece named Mary, except Mrs. White’s daughter, and the lines were probably addressed to a younger person ; the god-daughter, of course, need not have been a relative at all.

Fanny King’s early tale, ‘The Rector’s Memorandum Book,’¹ was published in 1819, probably at the request of friends, and its proceeds were no doubt a help to her charities. In the same year she is found taking an interest in the marriage of her nephew Thomas Tyringham Bernard ; but she was then in a state of health that gave some occasion for anxiety, as appears by a letter² from another nephew, Francis Bernard-Morland. And subsequent accounts only confirmed the unfavourable reports. It was the beginning of the end.

She was the grandmother of Admiral Sir Richard Collinson, of General Thomas Bernard Collinson, and of Mrs. De Winton—afterwards Mrs. Stratton—author of ‘Margaret and her Bridesmaids’ and of other popular novels.

¹ See *Memoir* prefixed to *Female Scripture Characters*.

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

CHAPTER XXXII

A SON'S MARRIAGE

The Bernard-Morland Circle of Acquaintance—Musical Tastes of Thomas Bernard—Travels of Francis Bernard-Morland—William Bernard-Morland—The Wynne Connection—Thomas Tyringham Bernard's Taste for Genealogy—Pedigree of the Williams Family—A Masqued Ball at Stowe—Dissolution of the Banking Partnership—Tom Bernard's Marriage—The Minshulls—The Country Surroundings of Kimble.

IN the last chapter only such extracts have been given from the diary of Francis Bernard-Morland as related to his uncle Sir Thomas Bernard; but the diary, curt as are its entries, throws considerable light on other portions of the family life. Many of its entries refer to business, others to pleasure, and some may be described as of a mixed nature.

The gentlemen as well as the ladies attended divine service on Sunday mornings with strict regularity; and all were communicants. St. James's Church was the appointed place of worship; but Lady Bernard-Morland had evidently a liking for Duke Street Chapel, to which other members of the family sometimes accompanied her, and there were further occasional variations.¹

The Bernard-Morlands took their pleasures moderately; the circle of acquaintance I find indicated, rather than recorded exhaustively, in the various family documents. In the list of callers given by Francis in his diary he evidently enters only the names of persons whom he saw, and gentlemen, of course, predominate. As the only son and brother in town, he often escorted the ladies to lectures and picture galleries; they also went occasionally to 'quadrille balls' or 'parties,' 'routs,' and dinners; but only one 'card party' is

¹ Diary of F. Bernard-Morland.

mentioned in the nine months over which the diary extends ; this kind of entertainment was probably dying out. The family enjoyed operas and theatres as well as ever, and concerts also ; both Francis and Thomas retained memories of the composers of their time, and could give them utterance even in old age. Thomas also delighted in Shakespeare, and could declaim some of his most famous passages ; giving them first in the style of John Kemble, and then in the manner of Edmund Kean, with which he was probably less familiar. But the contrast interested him. He had enjoyed the advantage of hearing Kemble and Mrs. Siddons at one of the great theatres, and Kean with Miss O'Neill at the other—unfortunately I forget in which play.¹

Both brothers had natural musical taste. Thomas certainly played by ear in his young days to friends, but Scrope Bernard did not allow of any scientific training in music ; in his view it was one of the few things a woman ought to learn, and one of the few things a man should not learn, lest it should interfere with his business or profession. Not till many years later did Thomas venture, under the influence of musical surroundings, to learn the violoncello—he was, indeed, fifty ; yet, after a somewhat arduous period of schooling, he mastered it sufficiently to take part in symphonies and even quartettes. It may be noted that he never forgot his classical studies, but delighted in quotations until a late period of his life, and was always much interested in history, especially the history of France.

To return to the earlier period—the want of railways was no bar to frequent journeys about England ; they were, of course, performed under very different conditions from those of the expeditions of the present day, but—notwithstanding some discomforts—were perhaps not less agreeable.

On January 1, 1818, Francis Bernard-Morland took his place in the Newark Mail at the Bull and Mouth coach-office. Travelling on Sunday was then, apparently, inevitable in some cases ; and, on the 4th, which was the following

¹ These particulars I gathered chiefly from my father, Thomas Tyringham Bernard.

Sunday, he attended church and communicated in the morning ; in the evening he drove to the Bull and Mouth, and has succinctly described his subsequent tour : ¹

Got into York Mail at 10 minutes before 7, & was carried off through Islington to Ware and Hertford.—5th Breakfasted at 4 in Huntingdon—from thence through Stamford & Grantham to Newark, where we dined at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 1. I got into a post chaise at $\frac{1}{4}$ after 2, & changing chaises at Ollerton got into Worksop by $\frac{1}{2}$ after 5.

The next entries are in pencil, and indistinct, but appear to be as follows :

Walk to Manor-house, breakfast at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11, & off to Doncaster at $\frac{1}{4}$ after 12 where I arrive at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 2, walk about town and Mr. Warren called.—7th—Raining, got up at 10, breakfast at 11, walk out at 2 for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour—races.

Then ink is resumed :

Attend the amateur concert in the Mansion House for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour.—8th Fine frosty day, breakfast at 11, call on Mr & Mrs White, visit the Stand House, both the Room & Roof, & walk by Nether Hall through Sir Geo : Cook's grounds.

It is probable that the object of this expedition was business ; not only were the Whites—that is, no doubt, Mr. and Mrs. Charles White—at Doncaster, but also Capt. and Mrs. Pigott ; and Francis was evidently pressed for time—he did not remain long enough to enjoy the races. On the 9th :

Hunt for a gig at 11 & ride with the Captain to Rossington Parsonage on a visit to Dr Mrs & the Miss Stovins at 2 & return by $\frac{1}{2}$ after 8—secure my place in the Edinburgh Mail . . . —10th—Captn Pigott & his Lady got up at 4 to see me off. I got into Mail Coach at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 5, passed through Bawtry & East Retford to Newark, where I took a cold lunch ; the mail dined at Grantham & then going on through Stamford & Stilton, stopped at Huntingdon at 8—11th—& passing thro' Ware and over Stamford Hill we reached the Bull & Mouth Inn at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 6, went to Bed & got up after 12, breakfasted.

¹ Diary of F. Bernard-Morland.

Carriage conveyed Father & me to the Greenman & Still, at 2 o'clock, & Father set out for Kimble by the Worcester Coach at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 2. I returned home, chatted about Doncaster. Walter Johnson called on his return from Northamptonshire . . .—12—G^dmother & Miss Stone from Lee where they conveyed Mother and Mary Ann at 2.

Mrs. Bernard-Morland frequently spent the periods of her husband's short visits to Bucks with her mother at Lee,¹ and the intercourse between the two houses became still more frequent when Captain and Mrs. Pigott came a little later to pay old Mrs. Morland a very long visit, and shared many of the town amusements of the family during this protracted stay.

William Bernard-Morland continued abroad, but apparently in France; he wrote² congratulations to his grandmother Mrs. Morland, on her birthday, this year from Rouen; and in this letter expressed his deep regret for his wasted life, and assured her that he intended to spend her next birthday with her. I am unable to say whether he carried this intention into effect; but, if so, he must have speedily re-crossed the Channel, without an effort to fix on any definite pursuit.

Thomas Tyringham Bernard went, early in 1818, to visit his *fiancée's* nearest maternal relations in England; her mother's only sister had married Colonel Robert Wynne, of Garthewyn, in Denbighshire, and her mother, Mrs. Stanley, had, I believe, gone to live near her.³ This new connection with Wales was a coincidence, entirely independent of the Williams pedigree—I have heard that the Wynne marriage was made up at Bath, then, not only a favourite health resort, but one of the minor capitals of England. Mrs. Stanley's father-in-law, Edward Stanley, of Radnorshire, had resided at no great distance from the property of the Williams family in Herefordshire, but the two families do not seem to have been acquainted, until the courtship of the last Sir David. Mrs. Stanley was herself the daughter of Rev. Thomas

¹ From various letters and also from statements by relations.

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

³ The information in this paragraph is derived from relations.

Sampson, Vicar of Kew, Surrey, and Rector of Bosham, Sussex.

Thomas Tyingham Bernard inherited his father's taste for genealogy; and his leisure time, during his engagement and after his marriage, was occupied in collecting and arranging the pedigree and alliances of the Williams family. The first ancestor he has recorded is Ller Merini, Lord of Gloucester, who married Gwenllian, daughter of the Irish Prince, Brychan Brecheiniog, who overran part of South Wales and gave his name to the part now called Brecon or Brecknockshire.

They—Ller Merini and Gwenllian—were the parents of Caradoc Fraich Fras, a Knight of King Arthur's Round Table, about whom many legends gather; he and his wife, Tegaur Vron, daughter of Pelinor, Prince of North Cambria, are the hero and heroine of the famous ballad of 'The Boy and the Mantle.'¹ He is sometimes called, on poetical authority perhaps, 'Lord of the Dolorous Tower,' as well as Earl of Gloucester. His son Cawrdaf, in consequence probably of the Saxon invasion, seems to have settled down as Lord of Brecon; and this was the designation of his descendants apparently for about five centuries until the Norman invasion, during which they ranked among the petty Princes of Wales, the 'reguli' as a Welsh historian terms them.

Blethyn ap Maenyrch, the last Welsh Lord of Brecon, had married a daughter of Tewdor Mawr—the Great—Prince of South Wales, and was slain, with his brother-in-law, the next Prince—Rhys ap Tewdor—in a battle against Bernard de Newmarch, one of the followers of William the Conqueror, who then took possession of the country. Gwgan, son of Blethyn, was imprisoned in Brecon Castle, which was built by the usurper, but eventually was allowed to live as a private gentleman.

The Herald's College, with whom my father had negotiations, admitted the pedigree from the time of Blethyn downwards. The choice of this period for drawing the line seems hardly reasonable, since Blethyn's father Maenyrch

¹ Percy's *Reliques*.

and his grandfather Dryffin, were princes well known in the annals of their country; but they did not happen to come in contact with the Normans, and this the College considered necessary to stamp a Welshman as something more than a legendary personage. Between the Norman conquest of Wales and the Tudor days, the descendants of the Welsh Lords of Brecon lived on as landowners, of more or less importance, probably revolting every now and then, at least in early days, until Gwilym or William of Ystradfellte, had a son Dafydd who went to the English Bar, became a Judge in 1602,¹ and died in 1612, under James I. He was the first who assumed an English designation, and is known, not as Dafydd ap Gwilym, but as Sir David Williams—and Williams thus became the surname of the family.

The outlines of Sir David's life have been given in Foss's 'Judges of England,' and in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

He was undoubtedly a very successful man. Coming to London from a remote region with a language of its own, he made a name and a fortune. He purchased land in many places, especially at Gwernynyfed,² Brecon; and Cockthorpe, Oxon, where he built houses. He was a friend of another judge, Warburton, to whom he left the choice of one of his scarlet robes, and of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, to whom he bequeathed 'a great gilt standing cup with a cover.' In each case he added expressions of affection. A stone monument in the Priory Church, Brecon, surmounted by recumbent effigies of himself and his first wife, Margaret Games of Aberbran, the mother of his children, still remains as a memorial of his career, and of his regard for his native county.³

¹ The date on his portrait is 1602; but the date given above is found in Beatson's 'Index' and in Foss's *Judges*. In Beatson it is 1603; in Foss, 1603-4.

² Sometimes written Gwernevet and Gwern-y-fydd; but the spelling in the text is now generally received.

³ The canopy was broken up at the restoration of the church and the monument removed from its prominent position. The tombs of Sir David's descendants at Gwernynyfed have fared much worse; the church of Aberllynfi fell down

The elder line of Sir David's descendants resided at Gwernyfed until it ended in an heiress who married into another family of Williams, and the property afterwards passed by a second heiress to the family of Wood, in which it still continues. The younger line, with which this book is concerned, acquired property in Herefordshire—a picturesque estate, including the ruins of Clifford Castle; but the dwelling-house, Clifford Court, was hardly of sufficient importance apparently, for a residence, and for two or three generations the family resided at Corndean in Winchcombe, Gloucestershire. The reason for this move has not been explained, but, while there, a David Williams contracted an alliance with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Matthew Carew of Lyttelton, Worcestershire, one of the Haccombe branch, and son of another Sir Matthew, Master in Chancery.

Their son, Matthew Williams, married Elizabeth Gilbert of the Kentish line, whose mother, Dorothy Kingsley, was heiress of the Kingsleys of Rose Hall and Goldingtons, two manors in the parish of Sarratt, Herts. Here Sir Gilbert and two Sir Davids had since lived. Sir Gilbert married a lady of the neighbourhood, Dorothy *née* Wankford, of Rickmansworth, and widow of Mr. Day; Sir David the elder was the husband of the Lady Williams who had brought up her grand-daughter, the last of the family.

To return to the events of the year 1818. The masqued ball, at Stowe, which Mary Ann had passed over with very scant mention, met with somewhat more notice from her brother Francis. From his account it appears that Mrs. Bernard-Morland and her daughter travelled, on February 24, to Lady Williams's house at Aston Clinton. Francis did not accompany them, but went to the Opera, 'Figaro & Zephra & Flora.'

February 25th [he writes] Father & I breakfasted at 7 & set off by Buckingham Union Coach from Greenman & Still to Swan

and has not been replaced, and the monuments are broken to pieces. Some slabs from other graves in the same churchyard may be found in barns, and even, I believe, in pig-sties.

Inn Buckingham at 8 o'clock, where we arrived at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 4; my Mother's party arrived 10 minutes before, as we dined at 5 Capn W S Badcock called on us; we drank tea at 7, dressed at $\frac{1}{4}$ after eight. Mrs & Miss Leathes & Rev^d Mr. Brookes called on us & we set off at 10 for Stowe in our Dominoes.

26 Having returned from the Masquerade at Stowe soon after 6 at the Swan, we went to Bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 & up soon after 12, breakfasted, were visited at half after 1 by Mr Newman & Captn Badcock, & left Buckingham for Aylesbury at $\frac{1}{4}$ after 3, where we dined & slept.

27 Father to London by Cooper's 6 o'clock coach. Tom to Aston with us, who go to Town after breakfast at 11 o'clock, & we four—[that is, Mrs. Bernard-Morland, her daughter and two sons]—arrived in Pall Mall at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 5—dinner at 6.

It will be observed that even Francis gave no account of the incidents of the masquerade. These are probably to be found in letters which I do not possess, or possibly the affair was exhaustively discussed with the good grandmother, either at Lee or in Pall Mall.

There is no mention of Miss Williams as attending the masquerade; and I can only imagine that she was kept away by her grandmother's wish. The old lady, who was very exacting, may have interposed some hindrance, for it is hardly probable that she and her grand-daughter were not invited; but Lady Williams was coming near the end of her days, and was probably more tenacious than ever of undivided attention. The preceding extracts from the diary of Francis do not state that his brother Thomas was at the ball, and probably he was not, as his *fiancée* did not go. He met his family in Buckingham, where he was staying by reason of his connection with the bank there, and went on to Aston Clinton for a night, which may have been a frequent occurrence.

The home at Aston Clinton, where Sophia Williams was brought up, was situated in the village.

The house in which Lady Williams lived is on the road from Weston Turville, but a small lawn separates it from this thoroughfare. It may have been built in the beginning of the eighteenth or end of the seventeenth century, and in

its day was no doubt considered a comfortable house, though not large. The extent of the grounds is indicated by the wall parting them from the road, but some of this land now goes with 'the Rookery,' which is occupied by the gentleman who acts as agent for Lady de Rothschild. This homestead was the old Minshull property, or, rather, like Lady Williams's house, it was derived from Thomas Harding Rowland's wife, Mary Ligo of Weston Turville, mother of Lady Williams and Mrs. Minshull, and the Minshull house, which is of red brick, was probably built after the Rowland and Minshull marriage.

Thomas Bernard was sent a little later in the year to Aylesbury to canvass for Lord Nugent. On June 10, the Prince Regent dissolved Parliament; on the 14th Mr. Bernard-Morland hastened to St. Mawes, and remained about ten days, being again elected as its representative during his stay.

Francis Bernard-Morland, who had accompanied his father to Cornwall, writes :

Go to L^d Nugent's Committee, Stratford Coffee House, Oxford Street.

This was accomplished during the one day's rest in London, June 24. On the 25th :

D^r Phillimore, Father & I to Aylesbury to vote for L^d Nugent, where we arrived by 1. Father to Wotton with Sir G. Nugent. I and Tom parade the Town. 26th—Return with D^r Phillimore to London by 6 o'clock Coach, call at Stratford Coffee House with Acco^t of the Poll . . . 27th—L^d Nugent & Mr Rickford chaired at 11. Father from Aylesbury & Mother & Mary Ann from Lee.

It has been related that Sir Thomas Bernard had left London in the middle of June, and that the family went on with its pleasures as well as business without any suspicion that the end was near. On June 30, Francis was at the Opera—'Don Giovanni'; on July 1, the very day on which his uncle had expired, he records : 'Father, Mary Ann, the Pigotts, & I to Ashley's and Vauxhall Gardens.' The

following morning brought an announcement from the new-made widow, and the sequel has been told.

Scarcely were the funeral rites performed when Thomas Bernard had to attend Buckingham Assizes. Then arrived news of another death, which to some extent broke up the family circle. Captain Henry Pigott, on receiving news of his mother's death, started—with his wife and Captain William Pigott, who was also in London—for Ireland, where they eventually resolved to settle. Margaret, town bred as she was to a great extent, had to preside over a home almost as self-contained as the Nether Winchendon of the Tyringhams,¹ and which was to a great extent the creation of her husband and herself. So rough was the road that Captain Pigott had to carry her up the supposed drive or 'avenue' to the hall-door. Here she became a skilful and diligent housewife, and the adviser, comforter, and doctress of the poor. She appears to have taken very cheerfully to the life, although, as one of the London servants who knew her in her young days pathetically remarked, many years after: 'She had to do a many things as she hadn't a' been a used to do.'

The diary of Francis Bernard-Morland breaks off in September, soon after 'Father, Mother, Mary Ann, Tom and Beccy' (the maid), had visited Sir George Nugent at Westhorp, near Marlow. From there Lady and Miss Bernard-Morland went on to Winchendon for Aylesbury races and ball.

The year 1819 opened inauspiciously, with a dissolution of partnership,² which apparently had been some time in contemplation. The Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, who represented his family in the Bank, removed to 34, Mr. Hosier, another partner, seems to have gone with him; Sir Scrope Bernard-Morland remained at 50—Pall Mall; each had with him several smaller partners. Whatever may have been the reason of this change, and what the promise it afforded, it

¹ See vol. i., chap. vii., of this Family History, p. 154.

² Recorded by M. A. Bernard-Morland in her diary; mentioned in other documents.

would seem to have been to the Morland Firm a beginning of trouble, although the fact may not have been realised for some years.

On the contrary, Sir Scrope seems to have believed that he was fortunate in securing the co-operation of two new partners, James Peter Auriol, Esq., of Park Lane, formerly principal secretary to the Supreme Government of India during Mr. Hastings's Administration, and George Duckett, Esq., of Upper Grosvenor Street, only son of Sir George Duckett, Bart., and speaks of them as gentlemen well-known in public life.

On January 3, died Rebecca Lady Williams, and her grand-daughter was left apparently alone in the house of mourning. Her mother must have been abroad with her second husband. The old lady's daughter, Mrs. Bull, was, indeed, living in Bucks, probably in Aylesbury; the wife of Mr. Neale was a more distant relative, and her daughter was Miss Williams's frequent companion. The young lady, however, accepted Lady Bernard-Morland's invitation to Pall Mall, and probably spent most of the interval of over six months, allowed between her grandmother's death and her own marriage, with her *fiancé's* family. Lady Williams was buried in Sarratt Church, near the home of her early married life.¹

From a rough draft of a letter written by Francis Bernard-Morland to his Aunt King in July, 1819, it will be seen how much interest the approaching wedding excited in the family. A much grander wedding had just taken place, that of Earl Temple, only son of the second Marquess (afterwards first Duke) of Buckingham² and Lady Mary Campbell, daughter of the fourth Earl of Breadalbane, afterwards first Marquess. The rejoicings at Stowe on the arrival of the bride and bridegroom were to take place only a few days before the quiet marriage at Aston Clinton, for quiet it was,

¹ This is vouched for by the present Rector, the Rev. Edward Ryley.

² See *Peerages*, Debrett, Burke, &c. The Dukedom of Buckingham being now extinct, the account of the family is to be found under the head of 'Kinloss (Baroness).'

notwithstanding the enumeration of gloves, cakes, favours, &c. The narrator says :¹

According to my promise the last time I had the pleasure of writing to you, I sit down to inform you that my Brother Tom's marriage to Miss Sophia Charlotte Williams will certainly be solemnized on 26th of this month in Aston Clinton Church by Rev^d Mr Chambres. The Ring is bought & Wedding dresses are actually being made,—seven dozen white kid gloves & several hundred favours, among them seven dozen are silver with silver leeks ; the bridecakes that were ordered last Monday are to cost abo^t thirty or forty Pounds.—The happy Pair will go direct from the Church to Goldingtons near Rickmansworth, the young Lady's family House & future Residence, while Mary Ann, Miss Minshull, & Miss Neale, the Bridesmaids, are to superintend the entertainment to their Friends, &c.

Preparing for this event & the Stowe fêtes on 19th, 20, 21 & 22—we being invited to the public wedding breakfast, fête champêtre to the dinner party & Music, & also to the grand fancy Ball given to the County 30 miles round Stowe—together with the moving of our goods & chattels to the next house—have put us all in a bustle, as my Mother likes to see everything that concerns her in particular arranged in perfect order, before she quits town.²

The following letter of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland to her sister, Mrs. Pigott, shows that she only attended one day's festivities, which, however, included a great deal. She does not mention having given up any others ; so it is possible that her brother had been imperfectly informed, and was not aware that everything he mentioned was to be compressed into one day. Mary Ann's letter fully explains the arrangements :

Winchendon July 29 1819

I set myself down, my dearest Margaret to give you an account of our late busy proceedings whilst they are fresh in my remembrance, but as I generally like to proceed regularly, the most

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon. The proper names are in several cases misspelt, and at least one other word. As it is a rough draft I have put them right, because they were probably corrected in the fair copy.

² The move I cannot explain. In Mary Ann's diary, after mentioning the division of the Bank into two establishments, she adds : ' Our Family continued to live at No. 56,' and does not mention any subsequent move.

interesting event may be found toward the conclusion. Thus far I will assure you first that the wedding took place on the 26th.

The note which accompanied Sophia's letter told you we were preparing for the Stowe Fête. On Monday 19th we set off (that is Mama, Frank & I) dined at Missenden & slept at Aylesbury. Next morning at half past eleven we proceeded to Stowe, where we arrived at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 2, and were fortunate enough to meet Sir George Nugent & Dr O'Connor crossing the Hall as we entered, who very civilly escorted us to the breakfast room which was old Lady Buckingham's School Room at the end of one Wing. In crossing the Lawn we met Lady Buckingham with Mrs Verney, Mr Verney and Lady Temple, with a long escort; they were all very civil, as were also all the rest of the Grandees including even Lady Arundel, but we did not get introduced to the bride. She is extremely pleasing and almost handsome. Lord Temple is a very handsome young man. There were very few of the Grenville or Bredalbane families; but nearly all the county besides. Mess^{rs} Aubrey, John & Charles Kipling, A'Becket Turner, Baron & Wife, Clifton (of Dorton), 4 Praeds, Box, Willis, Minshull, Chaplin, Rickford, Tindal, Newman, Brook, Turnor, Mansel, Chambres, Walter Carrington &c, Sir George Lee, Sir John Dashwood, Col. Pigott, Major Lovell & Capt. W. S. Badcock; Mesdames Box, Rickford, Tindal, Mansel, Pigott, Selby Lowndes, Browne, Tompkins; Misses Wickham, Lechmeres, Praeds &c. All these we met and spoke to by turns, and most of them enquired after you. Major Lovell Badcock asked twice about you: he is the same rough soldier we remember him, and very different in stile from his Brother the Sailor, who is quite a Ladies' beau. I danced two country dances with Mr Walter Carrington, and was engaged for a Quadrille to Captn Badcock, but the Rain coming on drove us into the house, for we danced in open sheds on the Lawn composed of Laurels, flowers, & green baize, with floors chalked by Lady Buckingham herself. There was Niel Gow's band for Country Dances and Reels; Collinet's for Quadrilles; the band of the 3rd Guards, and the Bucks Yeomanry Band: Besides Morrice dancers, a Juggler &c.

Baroness Nugent was decidedly the most beautiful woman there and Mr^s Chandos Leigh second. I could not find out the names of the young belles excepting Miss Maria Browne. The Yeomanry were all in Regimentals, they are quite Lord Temple's Hobby-horse; and a great many common people were admitted. It must have been a most fatiguing day for the Servants, for the Breakfast continued from 1 to 6 o'clock, and dinner was served up

at 8. We got into the great room (the old Ball-room) where we heard the toasts given, and thanks returned. The Marquis first gave 'the health of his Son & Daughter'; then Sir John Dashwood gave 'the Marquis & Marchioness'; Mr Rickford proposed 'Lord & Lady Nugent'; then Lord Buckingham gave 'Prosperity to the County'; the Ladies then retired, & afterwards 'Lord & Lady Arundel,' 'the Buckingham Family,' & 'The Ladies,' were drank with three times three. At 10 o'clock the Fireworks were prepared, but owing to the Rain none but Rockets and Roman Candles would go off; however Mr Kipling said they were the first he had seen, though Mr A'Becket talked of seeing some at the King's Coronation. Tea concluded the amusement and we got away at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12.

The Ladies were ordered to remain the whole day in Morning dresses, so Mama was in a White sattin [*sic*] Hat & feathers, washing-silk gown, and sattin spencer; I had on a white sattin spencer, muslin gown, pink shoes & sash, and net cap over pink sattin with a Rose and plume of Goose feathers, which is a new stile this season.

We slept that night at Mr Box's, and the next at Aston Clinton, where we found Miss Williams and Miss Neale in the height of their preparations. We were obliged to proceed again to London, because the Ball family were just arrived from Dublin, and Mr Pedley had sent us a turtle to dress, so on the Friday we received 5 Balls, 2 Auriols, Duckett, Captⁿ Grace, Mr Close of Dublin, Mr Wm Parsons (a very pretty behaved young Irishman) Mr Heaslop & Williams our head Clerk. All Saturday we were shopping and packing, and on Sunday 25th we set off, dined at Watford, drank tea & slept (probably for the last time) at Miss Williams's Aston Clinton house. Miss Neale and I decorated the Breakfast table. At 7 o'clock we rose and at 9 Mr William Minshull, Sophia's chief Trustee & Gardian, and Mr Joseph Rose began the process of signing and sealing, Tom & Sophy both present of course, and Mr Chambres & I witnesses. When this was over, Tom & the parson set off for Church taking up Frank at the Bell Inn, and Miss Neale and I as Brides-Maids, Mama, & Mr Minshull as Father, accompanied the Bride in our carriage. She had a long way to walk across the church-yard which was lined with Spectators, and the Church & Chancel was crowded. Mr Chambres read the service very well, and the couple behaved extremely calm [*sic*] and both spoke very audibly, although Tom turned very pale. There were no Tears shed, for she had particularly charged me to be gay or calm, although to be

sure I have now partly lost a most amiable and agreeable companion, more so than I ever dare expect to find in any husband I may fix upon. Tom then handed her to his new chariot, which is of the Wellington Brown, a fashionable colour although rather dark for a Bride, and with their Man and Maid on the Dickey they set off with four Berkhamstead Horses for Goldingtons. She was dressed in a sprigged India muslin gown, elegantly flounced with Mecklin Lace, over a bloom white sattin slip, a bloom figured silk spencer trimmed with Mecklin Lace, and merely a Mecklin Vail on her head. Tyringham in a Blue coat with Brimstone colour inexpressibles. The Brides Maids in Book muslin petticoats over sattin, white silk spencers and Bonnets with a bunch of white Roses. Sophia had a great variety of elegant dresses mostly trimmed with beautiful Buckinghamshire Lace. Mama was in a white sattin spencer and Hat.

Having seen the young couple off, we all returned to the House where we distributed the favors, which were extremely elegant and of transparent silver Lace with silver hop-flowers in the middle. There were 22 at *7 apiece and 5 dozen common ones for Tennants & Servants. The Wedding took place $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10, and soon after 11 breakfast began at which Miss Neale and I presided & Mr. Chambres was stationed half way down to pour out coffee & cut the cake : (which was *pink*, with devices of doves at the top, and T. T. B., & S. C. W., on the sides.) Besides Mama & Frank we mustered Mr Wm Minshull, Mrs & Miss George Minshull and a Lady, Mr Wm Minshull Junr, Mr & Mrs Rose, Mr & the Miss & Mr James Senior, Mr & Miss Horwood, & Master Frederick Neale, making 19. Mr and Mrs J. Bull were invited, and she has had cake and a favor sent her. Papa & Mr Minshull also were unable to attend. Near the conclusion we toasted 'the Bride and Bridegroom,' 'Miss Morland,' 'Miss Neale,' 'Mr. Wm Minshull,' 'the whole Company present,' 'Mr Francis Bernard Morland, & Sir Scrope & Lady Morland.' We left Aston at 4 o'clock, leaving Frank to come on to Town, and Miss Neale (who has had her full share of the bustle) to pack off the Cats, Dogs, Peacocks, and all the remaining furniture to Goldingtons. . . . It was the first day of the Assizes at Buckingham. Such a party in that house bore a very uncommon appearance. The Village Girls assembled before the house at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, and occasionally during the day dancing reels. If the Wedding day is prophetic, they will lead a most charming life, for it was serene sunshine the whole day and starlight. As to presents Mama gave Tom a silver Bread-basket, and in compliment to Mr Edwards

3 dozen of various Wines, and a Topaz brooch & ear-rings to Sophia. Frank gave two pair of candlesticks. And myself a Fish knife & Soup Ladle to Tom, and a little Seal to Sophia. Grandmama says she shall wait until next year to see what they have got. . . . Tom intends to write you & Pigott his thanks shortly. Miss Senior sent her a ring, and Miss Newman a purse.

We are still to direct your letters to Loughrea. I do not expect to hear long of your being in the Dairy at 6 o'clock. . . But I think this country life must be quite suitable to your taste, and Pigott's health, although I have lost all hope of seeing you for many years. . . . Papa has been at Brighton for a few days which has delayed this letter. . . Augst 2nd Aylesbury races are to be on the 26 & 27th.

There is an important postscript, 'Mrs. Burfield of Brighton made Sophia's Bonnet, caps, & favors. Old Abraham has resigned his Clerkship and William Plater is now Clerk.' The last sentence refers to the parish of Nether Winchendon. 'Old Abraham' was, I believe, Abraham Wheeler; William Plater, who was clerk within my memory, belonged to one of those families of small farmers who were gradually being crushed by changes in times and circumstances.

Miss Bernard-Morland appears to have remained at Winchendon with her mother. On September 5 she describes: 'Another varied scene of bustle in which your once peaceable relatives have been engaged during the last fortnight'; continuing:

On the 22nd of August after Church we received the Governor of the Castle [Sir Scrope] who has been of late years a great stranger at Winchendon, and from him we learnt the news of London. All Monday we were lopping the Trees, and setting the old house and garden in the best possible order, to receive Lady Bernard who arrived at four o'clock on Tuesday. She was as usual in high good humour, and seem'd pleased with the antiquities which surrounded her. During the three days which she stayed we endeavoured to amuse her in doors and out, and of an evening she and Papa combatted at cribbage. My aunt left us on Friday morning to return to London, that we might be free to attend the Aylesbury Race Ball in the evening, although by her

fixing to visit us in that week we had lost the concerts on the two preceding evenings.

We set off about halfpast eight, and entered the Ballroom a little before 10 ; the room was nearly full, and the Bride [Mrs. T. T. Bernard] was flying down the dance with Lord Lake, one of the Stewards, and the Bridegroom following shortly with a young lady at whose house they had dined in Aylesbury. We were soon greeted by a great many old friends, and as all Mrs. Bernard's friends wore favors, the room looked very gay. The room was graced by three Lords and three Baronets, all *married* men, a rich widower with 6 children, and some smart beaux whom Miss Dashwood brought and pocketed among her own party, so all hopes of making a *grand conquest* being extinguished, I was contented to take up with undermentioned worthies for my partners.

It would be hardly fair, even at this distance of time, to name these gentlemen—three of them clergymen—who are described as the ‘laughing,’ the ‘solemn,’ the ‘simpering,’ the ‘smirking,’ and the ‘amiable’ partner.

With these I made out 8 country dances and one Quadrille. Dancing commenced soon after 9 o'clock, and concluded (having burnt out all our candles) about 4. . . It was reckoned a very good ball, and we were well amused.

One of the noble lords, however, had been presiding at the Ordinary, which did not make him a very pleasant partner, for he was so tipsy, that I was glad to plead an engagement when Miss —— wished him to dance with me. Miss Dashwood is a fine young woman, but there were none of the county beauties there, save Lady Nugent.

The writer then mentions a three days' visit paid by Mr. and Mrs. Bernard, accompanied by Miss Neale—a call paid by Sir John Aubrey, ‘in his chariot and four,’ and various other details. In October the family migrated to Kimble ; a letter of the 14th expresses Miss Bernard-Morland's disappointment that her grandmother was not coming to spend ‘this lovely weather’ with them ; she continues :

Accept my best thanks for the letter you were so good as to write me ; but at the same time I cannot help expressing myself a

little offended at your calling all my smart young parsons and squires 'old divines,' for I believe myself warranted in saying that not one of my partners at the Race ball were turned thirty, and all single men.

In another paragraph the young lady says :

Most of our neighbours have their houses full of company, and when the Moon begins to shed her fascinating beams, I suppose our balls and routs will begin.

The frequent mention of dancing clergymen in these letters may partly help to account for the progress made in the county by dissent, as it indicated an easy-going view of life ; though, perhaps, not more doubtful than some other recreations. The following passage in the same letter touches on the situation :

We have had a famous Methodist parson preaching in some of the neighbouring villages, which has made us all very pious, and according to his advice and direction, when we meet, instead of saying in the common way—'How are you?'—we now say—'How is your soul?'

This lively allusion to Methodism, and the gossiping character of the letters written by Miss Bernard-Morland to cheer a solitary old lady in general, represent only one side of her disposition. It would be a mistake to suppose her, even in her youth, averse to serious thoughts and occupations ; but, as the constant companion of a mother in bad health, and often depressed in spirits, she probably felt the need of looking steadily at the bright side of life. She was always helpful and affectionate to her relatives, strict in her religious duties, and a frequent visitor to the Nether Winchendon cottages, in whose inhabitants she took an interest to the end of her life. She also retained recollections of her humble neighbours at Kimble, whom she had not known for so many years, and from whom she was more effectually parted by subsequent events. I have heard, moreover, from her own lips that she was desirous of taking up some benevolent work in London ; she described an attempt—I believe,

not the only one—to enter a hospital, and the unbounded surprise of the official who received her, at the wish of a lady, to read and talk with any patients who might be disposed to listen. I believe she did not get beyond the entrance hall.

In the account of the Stowe home-coming and the Aston Clinton wedding, and, in a minor degree, in the accounts of the Aylesbury ball, many names have been mentioned without any history of the persons, which would have been too onerous; the names are retained because they may be of some interest to remaining members of the families, and even to other residents in the neighbourhood. The names of Mr. and Miss Browne refer, indeed, to the Mr. Browne¹ of Montreuil—Scrope Bernard's correspondent in early days—and his daughter by a second wife. He had resided for some years past at Aylesbury. One of his sons (also by the second marriage) became a Bishop, another a General. Amongst the guests at Aston Clinton, Mr. Joseph Rose is mentioned, especially in connection with the legal proceedings. He was Lady Williams's family lawyer, and, having known Miss Williams from her early childhood, had a parental feeling for her; it was also into his hands that the land in Nether Winchendon had passed,² which—by reason of the Pilsworth marriage—had for some time been in the hands of the Cave family. Mrs. Bernard continued on intimate terms with him and his family during the remainder of her life, and the friendship between the families was kept up after her death.

The Minshulls were descendants of Martha Rowland,³ the sister of Lady Williams. Mr. George Minshall, the eldest brother, owned property in Aston Clinton, and was a London magistrate; his only child, mentioned among the guests, became Comtesse de Broc, and lived chiefly abroad. Mr. William Minshall had gone into business; he lost his sons in early manhood, but one of his daughters became

¹ See vol. iii., chap. i. of this Family History.

² Vol. i., chap. vii. of this Family History, pp. 167, 168.

³ Vol. i., chap. x. of this Family History, p. 231.

my father's second wife. The Rev. William Stockins, who had officiated in Aylesbury Church when Governor Hutchinson stayed with Sir Francis Bernard, was co-trustee with Mr. William Minshull of Miss Williams as regarded her grandmother's property, but may have been too infirm to attend the wedding. He died in 1828.

Mary Ann notes, on September 2: 'Went for the first time to Goldingtons.' It was and is a substantial house, much renovated and enlarged by Mrs. Bernard before her marriage. Its most attractive feature is its situation overlooking the valley of the Chess, and it stands near the old church of Holy Cross, and also near an inn, where the Williams cock is still seen on the signboard. Rose Hall, on the other manor in Sarratt, was apparently the residence of the Kingsleys; and, though now a farmhouse, has more antiquarian interest. Both are in the midst of fine scenery.

And then Miss Bernard-Morland chronicles:

Novr 4th. Mama and I went to the Watlington ball. The Stewards were Lord Macclesfield and Mr W. Lowndes. Dined and slept at the house of Mr Leathes.

The following document¹ appears to belong to 1819, and illustrates the social surroundings of Kimble. The original is a genuine 'Round Robin,' all the names being written round a circle, and the petition written inside and shaped accordingly:

To Sir Scrope Bernard Morland Bart

This Petition is set forth humbly to show that we your sad Petitioners are in great distress, and tribulation from a report we have heard that your Honour has given orders for your worthy Lady, and most fair Daughter, to prepare for returning to London in a very short space of time. This maketh us your Petitioners to entreat you to consider our condition, and grant the request we are about to make to your Honour. We, your Petitioners, have but *one* Great Holiday in all the year and that is at Christmas Time [may your Honour *enjoy many*] and according to old custom,

¹ MS document pasted into the book into which M. A. Bernard-Morland's Diary, vol. iv. and many Family Letters are copied.

we at the ancient manor of Horsendon meet to brew the Wassail cup, make the Yule cake, and mince-pie and decorate the dwelling with berried Holly, Ivy, and sacred missletoe for safety. There round the cheering Christmas fire we assemble to feast on the aforesaid cates, and dainties, to repeat old legends, and exchange mutual gifts and good wishes. This our festival is held on the last day of the old year, and our practice is also to welcome the birth of the new year morning, with a merry dance, and carols, to the sound of tabor and Pipe. But our Pastime will not be complete, without your Honour will allow us to hope that you will permit your amiable Lady and most lovely daughter to join our annual meeting, dare we ask for your Honour's presence also?—The merry day will soon be past—we ask but a short indulgence.—We feel that we venture much in requesting you to forego the society of these Ladies, but we are, from the kind attentions our petitions have always met with from your Honour, emboldened to lay the statement before you, in the hope you will grant the humble Petitioners their request, and we shall ever be bound to pray for and thank

your Honour for evermore.

The signatures—all, of course, supposed to be on an equality, being round a circle—are of the Grubb, Meade, Carrington, and Mainstone families, male and female. And I believe that the petition was granted, as not only is there an allusion in one of Lady Bernard-Morland's letters to her husband, to the effect that as there was no invitation for the New Year from her mother, and therefore she and her daughter may be held free to spend a week at Horsendon according to invitation, but Miss Bernard-Morland also notes in her Diary: 'December 31st, Attended Mrs. Grubb's dance at Horsendon.'

CHAPTER XXXIII

A CHRONICLE OF BEREAVEMENTS

Letters from Mrs. Morland—Miss Bernard-Morland presented to King George IV.—Birth of Lætitia Charlotte Tyringham Bernard—Death of William Bernard-Morland—Lady Bernard-Morland visits Cheltenham—Mary Ann Bernard-Morland—George IV.'s Coronation—Death of Fanny King—Illness of Lady Bernard-Morland—Her Burial—Return of Richard Bernard-Morland from India—Death of Mrs. White.

ABOUT a month after the Aston Clinton wedding, Mrs. Morland wrote a letter, some portions of which are here given, as characteristic of the old lady—her peculiar spelling, and even composition, which had, I suppose, been the same through life, tempered, however, with some power of expression, great good-humour, and even love of fun. It is addressed to her daughter, and begins with some curious intelligence :¹

My Dr Har,—I leave to you to suppose my feelings on my return from Maidstone Goal [*sic*] having pleaded as a Criminal *there* to find a letter at Lee so different & very agreeable as a Wedding.

The copyist of this letter, Mrs. Morland's great-granddaughter, Miss Spencer, suggests in a note that the reference may be to a dishonest gardener, who had been robbing the old lady's orchard for many years and laying the blame on the people. In that case, however, she was certainly the prosecutrix, and I am inclined to think that she here refers to some proceedings of a different sort, to which there are references in one document, at least, in my possession ; they

¹ Letter copied by Miss Spencer into the same volume as the Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland.

were perhaps little more than formal, for they evidently went off very easily. The writer continues :

the account of the Village scene, the Heavens ; the Bride & Bridegroom, their Manners, & the whole order of the day gives Me great'r pleasure in my congratulations to you, & Miss Polly, as I think it opens a view to great happiness to all parts of the family. Fame reports Mrs Tyringham Bernard, to be the best of Wives. I, mean next week to write them my good wishes perhaps by that time a little more knowledge of the family & the world may be acceptable.

After detailing the effects of the heat, and rejoicing that it had not begun till after her journey, she recounts how she and Miss Stone had spent the night at a pleasant little inn at Wrotham, and driven eleven miles to Maidstone next morning

to meet Mr. Perkins & Marson at the Star by half-past Nine o'Clock in the Morning. Miss Stone & Myself thought to have walk'd about the Town after our business was over, Mr. P. & Mr. M., were so oblige'g as to offer to attend Us but we could not permit, as we knew they were in great haste to return, the one to Brighton, the other to an appointment on Law affairs. Their polite attention would not permit them to leave us at the Star by ourselves, therefore the Coach was ordered in an hour, & we were ready to set off by that time, but thought we would go back the road to Malling & spend an hour with Miss Stone's Aunt. But, alas ! she was out for some days on a Visit, therefore we found ourselves back at four o'clock to a very nice dinner at Wrotham, walk'd about the Church, the Town &c., & set off the next morning about twelve o'Clock, reached St. Mary Cray, took a cold dinner there, and was at Lee by five o'Clock. It turned out a very pleasant journey, had it been on another occasion.

Our Coachman & W^m thought it best to appear on the road with their favours. A Gentleman of My Acquaintance Passing the Inn in the evening look'd steadfast at William & thought him my Servant, but seeing the favours, not knowing of Mr. Bernard's Wedding, thought it was Miss Stone ; therefore would not stop to pay his comp^s, lest it should be the Wedding Day.

I am glad to hear of your arrival at Winchendon & of the good health of M^{rs} Cooling & Your other Neighbours. Sir Scrope does well to take some Sea Air. M^r & M^{rs} Aislabie are gone a little

jour'y & will reach M^{rs} Hodson, & by that Means have some Cake to sleep on. I, receive Comp^s, in abundance from all here, therefore accept them in the lump.

After a rather sad notification of a lady, Elizabeth Pearson, who travelled to the dying bed of her very old friend, Captain Boyd, and on her return found her maid dead, Mrs. Morland becomes satirical on the subject of a recent wedding in her immediate neighbourhood :

The great news of this Morning Sunday 15 at Lee is the Marriage of Mr. J. J. Angerstein aged 84 to a Young Lady who's Name I can't learn. The happy pair set off from Lewesham Church to spend their honey Moon God knows at what shady Blest retreat.

I, trust by this time You are quite recover'd from your great fatigu's & expecting L^y Bernard every day. Then Vive la joy, at the Ball, in the account of which I, suppose to end the gay season Should I, not hear some wonderful accounts of the beauty &c. of a certain Bride Maid her Naive'té of Maners and many other great qualitys striking some very good & great Man of your County, I shall have no opinion of the Gentlemen in your parts of the Wourld.

I have wrote a deal of Nonsense thinking of sending it by some Beau on Sunday, but, none appearing, I conclude with Miss Stone's Love to You & poor Polly.

Affec^y her & Yours

A. MORLAND

Lee Aug^t 18, plenty of Blunders but they may amuse you.

It thus appears that the good lady was conscious of her literary shortcomings ; her punctuation is one of the most remarkable points of this letter, and may possibly have been owing to failing sight. The word 'nevvur,' which occurs in a passage of the letter not quoted, is the most eccentric piece of spelling ; but it may have been seen from other letters in these volumes that correct—or rather uniform—spelling was not insisted upon very strictly at that time.

Miss Stone, Mrs. Morland's companion, and apparently indispensable friend, was, it will appear, taken for a bride on another occasion by reason of the favours which were then so extensively worn, and formed an important part of the display

after, as well as at, the wedding. Mrs. Morland's epistle was probably one of many touching on the grand event. The interest in the Aston Clinton wedding did not die away suddenly, as appears by the following letter from Mrs. White to Lady Bernard-Morland; the allusion to Lady Williams's portrait refers to the days when Jane Bernard lived with Mrs. Beresford at Nether Winchendon, and Rebecca Rowland, who was some years older, was at Aylesbury with her mother.¹ In this letter Mrs. White gives her address with far more precision than when she was living in her husband's house. Whether that house had been sold, or belonged to her son, I do not know; but the allusions to climate in the letter² show that she was beginning to dread cold, and spent more time in milder atmospheres, probably in Bath and London:

Minster Yard

Lincoln Jan 13

My dear Sister,—I hope to hear from my good nephew Francis that you are pretty well, and have recovered your charming cheerful spirits which give such pleasure to all your friends. I want to hear more of Neice [*sic*] Mrs Tyringham (tho' I believe she is the only Mrs Bernard, & therefore I must leave out the favourite Name) whether she has blue eyes & fair hair, that I may form an idea of her. Her good Grandmother was very pretty, but when the painter came to take her Picture for Sir David, instead of a pretty Shepherdess he put on a full trimmed straw coloured silk, not half so becoming, full length and a long train. Fancy dresses are so much prettier for Pictures because not changed by Fashion.

I do not know whether my Brother can recollect a large Brick house that Lady Kaye & Miss Mainwarings lived in, the centre of the Minster Yard, east side. I have got very comfortable rooms in the house next to that, the Master of the House is engaged in surveying the County & taking drawings of the Churches & Antiquities; a young man of uncommon natural genius, his pleasing Wife was one of the Governesses at Dr Pearson's when my Grandsons were there, so that Tom who is my visitor till the holidays are over, is the happiest of Beings.

I did not intend to spend the winter in Lincoln on account

¹ See vol. i. of this Family History, chap. x., p. 231.

² MS. Letter copied by Miss Spencer into the same MS. volume as the Diary of her mother, Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.

[Here some words are left out in the original] but it seems to be less hurtful than I expected. I have seen a great many old friends & that does one good. I am quite pleased to hear of Capt Pigott's farming & rural amusements. I think dear Margaret will like it, & it answers better in Ireland I understand than it does in England. Land is not so high, nor labor, & much of the land is rich when well managed; & it requires less skill there.

Don't think me unfeeling dear Sister, because I do not dwell on melancholy past events, a cheerful submission is so acceptable in the sight of God that I would not revive any thought to impair yours. Love to my Brother, dear Mary Anne, & all the circle now around you; with regards to good Mrs Morland, & believe me ever Your Ladyship's very affection^{te} Sister

J. WHITE.

I am somewhat doubtful as to the meaning of Mrs. White's allusion to 'melancholy past events,' and should be inclined to attribute this letter to the January of the following year (1821), when a heavy trial had fallen upon the family, but that the compiler of the selection from which I have quoted probably had good reason for ascribing it to 1820; the 'events' may mean some anxiety in connection with William. Mrs. White may also have included some grief of her own; and, if so, it would be in all likelihood the death of her grandson, Frank White, a promising boy, who was drowned at Repton,¹ under what circumstances I do not know, and who is said to have strongly resembled Sir Francis Bernard.

On January 29 the poor old King was released from his pitiable state of existence. The following month Parliament was dissolved, and Sir Scrope was soon after re-elected for St. Mawes—the sixth time. On June 27 Miss Bernard-Morland was presented to the new King, George IV. She writes: ²

I went with my Father and Mother to the King's Drawing-room at Buckingham Palace. The King kissed all the ladies.

¹ The fate of this boy I learned from a MS. Letter of Mrs. White's daughter, Mrs. Sydney Shore; it is at Nether Winchendon.

² Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland.

To the account her daughter, the copyist of the Diary, adds in a note :

On which occasion the Diarist, not having been properly drilled, thought herself bound to return the kiss. Whether this pleased the King or not, the ceremony must have been a fatiguing one, as he was growing elderly and infirm, and, as there had not been a Levée or Drawingroom for several years, there were large arrears of presentations to be made up.

This year was memorable to the family for two events, one of a joyful, the other of a painful, nature.¹ On September 11 was born Sir Scrope's grandchild, Lætitia Charlotte, daughter of Thomas Tyringham Bernard, at Sarratt, 'a beautiful baby,' writes Mary Ann. She was baptised there by the clergyman who had married her father and mother, the Rev. Philip Chambres, of Aston Clinton, a Welshman by birth. Sir Scrope stood godfather; the godmothers were Mrs. Wynne and Lady Bernard, after whom she was named. Mary Ann notes soon after :²

Nov. 23rd. The first Risborough ball at the Cross Keys, My Mother and M^{rs} Grubb, Patronesses; my Father and Mr Grubb Stewards.

But the family had scarcely attended this festivity when news arrived which brought with it a terrible shock.

Sir Scrope had met his eldest son, William, at Havre not many weeks before, had evidently gone fully into business matters with him, had acquiesced in his wish to live at Caen for a time, and left him in comfortable quarters. But William had been there a very little while when he was carried off, after a short illness, by inflammation of the lungs.³ He died on November 21, aged thirty-four. The narrative of his last days reveals the fact of an English physician's residence in Caen—Dr. Denmark, who wrote the sad story to his father—and also of the attendance of an English clergyman,

¹ This event is mentioned in the Diary, in *Letters*, &c.

² Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland.

³ The particulars in the text are derived from various letters at Nether Winchendon.

Dr. Luscombe, formerly head of the college at Hertford, from both of whom he received every care.

The body was embalmed, and sent over in December to be interred in a vault recently made for the family in Great Kimble Church.

On the very day when Sir Scrope received the second letter from Caen, containing particulars of his son's last hours, London was disturbed by Queen Caroline's efforts to assert her position, of which full accounts may be read in many books. Sir Scrope was apparently left in Pall Mall with a very small staff of servants, his wife and daughter being in the country. He writes ¹ to Lady Bernard-Morland :

Amid our troubles, it happened to-day that Daniel was missing from 11 to 3 without leave, being gone as far as the City to see the Queen, of whom we could all see too much from our own Doors and Windows. Ann had consequently to watch the Door on such a day of Crowd as this. And Tom was obliged to go out on a necessary message.

Frank is arrived while I am writing, & we have settled that he should go to Lee to-morrow morning. I could not with propriety leave this House.

In the postscript, after stating that Tom had written all the letters announcing the death, he continues :

Frank could not get by in his Hackney Coach from Oxford St, on account of the Queen & Mob, being stopped near a quarter of an hour in Piccadilly.

There can be no doubt of the shock which Lady Bernard received from the death of her firstborn, in a foreign country, and after years of anxiety on his account. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that she had probably spent many sleepless nights in brooding over the possible fate of her youngest son, Richard, who was, as she knew, engaged in a profession for which he had no liking, and in a climate which he dreaded, and whose melancholy temperament must have caused her much uneasiness. Two letters of Richard's, written from India, are in my possession ; one, dated so early

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

as 1817, headed, 'Once more to the Feild, dear Friends,' describes an action, in which he had taken part, in a self-possessed tone, which implies that it was not the first :¹

My dear Tom,—We marched from Meerut (that is to say) our 1st & 3rd Troops for Hatrass in company with the 8th Dragoons on the 5th of Feby. 1817, where we were joined on our arrival by the Cawnpore and Muttra, and immediately proceeded to surround the Fort. Diaram, the Hatrass Chief humbug'd us twice, with regard to accepting the terms, which were offered him—(namely to fill up the Ditch of his Fort, and give up his guns on a regular valuation, and he should enjoy his country, &c—but that our police should have some small authority in his dominions, and we would on our side secure the possession on his death to his youngest, favourite, and only legitimateson, (which was his wish) or give us a Defiance—till at last a gun from us was fired, as a signal that all negotiating was at an end. Two other propositions from them have been offered, but we declined both, under the Idea that they wanted to play us another trick.

On the 20th being joined by the rest of our troops from Cawnpore and Agra, the Rocket Troop, and a small proportion of the Cavalry, together with all the Infantry, the Park &c took up a position to the N.W. of the Fort, leaving the rest of the Cavalry in another direction under Major General Brown ; but before I proceed further it may be necessary to give you a list of our Force and Commanders, which are as follows.

The list is too long to give ; the three Generals were Donken (Infantry), Sir John Horsford (Artillery), and Brown (Cavalry) ; no other names are mentioned, except Roberts and Cunningham in connection with the 1st and 2nd Irregulars, or Rohilla Horse. Richard continues :

Making in all about 10,000 Infantry and 4,000 Cavalry—on the night of the 21st Feby we commenced to erect our batteries, which were furnished in time to open them the next morning ; which we did at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 11 o'clock against the Cutterah, and continued Battering, Shelling, & sending Rockets in, until the morning of the 24th when the enemy abandoned it, and we took possession about 7 o'clock, that morning,—with only the loss of one European killed, one wounded, two natives killed, and three wounded.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

We then proceeded to erect Batteries against the Fort in order to Bombard it. Which we finished by Sunday the 2nd March, and commenced throwing Shells &c at about $\frac{1}{4}$ past nine in the morning—At $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 in the evening his smallest magazine containing about 6,000 M^{rs} of Powder was blown up; the Shock was tremendous, and about 8 o'clock the same evening the enemy attempted his escape, which he effected with the loss of some of his men. Their loss is supposed to amount in all to about 300 killed (besides wounded & prisoners), 100 of which are said to be buried at the time of the Magazine blowing up. Our loss may amount to about 100 killed & wounded.

On the 5th we were going to proceed against the Fort of Moorsam when they came over to our terms.—We volunteered our Services to assist in the Batteries (as on all other occasions, when we are not particularly required in the Feild)—which were accepted.—We had no less than 48 Artillery Officers in Camp—which is more than a third of the Regiment as it now Stands, which was hardly sufficient, and not enough to have given a relief, had the Bombardment lasted longer; and in order to collect this number they were forced to lay hold of every one from Dinapore up to Meerut excepting the Staff—A pretty insufficiency of Officers!

I am a much altered man since I saw you last in every way, which I think you will all observe should we chance to meet again.—I am never I believe happier than when I take my Dinner at the Mess among my brother Officers, and of course avoid as much as possible dining. I have learnt by the General Order of Major General Marshall, that our success in the last affair has been attended by that of eleven other Forts—which we would likewise have had to have gone against. By all accounts we shall take the Feild again next October against whom it is not as yet certain. But I believe Lord Moira wishes us to go against Burtpore, can he find a plea.

On the Breaking up of the army at Hatrass I obtained leave to Agra, where I have been looking at the different beautiful Buildings there—and much gratified my curiosity. I am now returning to Meerut, viâ Muttra and Delhi, from the former of which places I write my letter—Give my love & duty to all, and health & happiness.

I am looking very anxiously for the time when I shall be entitled to take my Furlough, but I do not know why I should, for I doubt if it ever will be in my power; but still it is a pleasing reflection, that I may perhaps see you again, and am not altogether

banished in this part of the world, where my constitution will gradually be injured, and no one pleasure is to be gained as a recompense.

I have suffered a good deal lately but hope to brush up again.
Adieu, my love to Sophia &

Believe me, Ever

Your affectionate Brother

R. S. BERNARD MORLAND.

It will be seen from this letter that the writer no sooner ceased to think and speak or write of the excitements of his profession than he relapsed into his former melancholy. The sequel shows that he was quite justified in asserting that the climate and the conditions of his life in India were injuring his health, although slowly; and it is quite probable that his unhappiness may have told upon his mother, whose own health was always in a precarious condition. But both mother and son had to accomplish their destinies.

It is evident indeed, that Lady Bernard-Morland's state gave rise to increased apprehension in 1821—a year which was ushered in by the death of her aunt by marriage, the wife of Samuel Gillam Mills born Catherine Richison. The entry in the diary is simply 'March 12, Aunt Mills¹ died in her sleep.' She was the mother of many children, amongst whom was the historian of 'Chivalry' and of 'the Crusades,' &c.

Towards the end of April, arrangements were made for Lady Bernard-Morland to visit Cheltenham with her daughter, and the Winchendon maid, Rebecca Collins, in the hope of a partial restoration to health. The visit presented no features of extraordinary interest, but was of course marked by some incidents characteristic of the period. Sir Scrope evidently preserved all the letters written to him during this excursion, chiefly by Mary Ann; and from those letters the following outline is derived.

The travellers seem to have left London in the family

¹ Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland. I believe this lady to be the person indicated in the Diary; she was indeed the only person answering to the designation; and, according to an entry in a Mills' Bible, had been married in March 1769.

carriage, with post horses—a servant, named William, having been sent on to Beaconsfield the day before with Sir Scrope's horses. They arrived there about half-past one, and went on at once.

Miss Bernard-Morland writes :

Mama was very weak and nervous at first setting out, and did not much like either going up the very long and heavy hill to Stokenchurch, or the more famous one coming down ; but after a nicely dressed dinner at Tetsworth, she found herself sufficiently recovered to proceed to Oxford, which we reached before eight o'clock.

The letter was written next morning at Witney :

We are breakfasting here, after having slept pretty comfortably at the Star, although all the best rooms were occupied by the Sessions people.

This, of course, refers to Oxford, which the travellers had quitted early. The next sentence refers to Witney. It was May 1 :

There are some gay sweeps and a Jack in the Green dancing before our windows. They have shortened the road between Oxford and Cheltenham, which even the inn-people and travellers call thirty-eight miles . . . I shall put this into the post where we stop to dine.

The halt took place at North Leach ; and the young lady notes, in a postscript, at half-past three :

Lord Delawar's house and grounds make a great figure on the road and Lord Sherborne's belt and gates are magnificent.

There was a steep descent at the entrance to Cheltenham ; but Lady Bernard-Morland writes :

The two great hills in Oxon frightened the present state of my nerves more than the hill into this place, as it was not such a stare.

That is, apparently, did not command such an extensive view, disclosing all the dangers of the route.

Her estimate of Cheltenham is more favourable than the

opinion expressed some years previously by Mrs. Smith; perhaps the place had improved.

What an immense long street the High Street is! I think it is longer than Oxford; but the walks and situation of the different wells are beautiful. It certainly is a very pretty place. I drink from the water you drank of when you was here, 'the Forty Well' . . . The place is very full, though they do not call it the season until next month and then it begins. The month of May is thought to be the best for drinking the waters.

The letters contain many names of persons of rank and of acquaintances, but the invalid avoided society, only visiting 'Mrs. Pruen [?], who is sister to Mrs. Blomberg.' Her quarters were at 'No. 4 Crescent,' and she says:

One of the ladies in this house is a grand lady of the whip, and drives about in a high phaeton. . . . To-day [she writes on May 17] is the Queen's birthday, and the church bells have been ringing in compliment to her, though Lady Jersey is here.

Other entries illustrate Lady Bernard-Morland's affectionate disposition. 'I shall drink Miss Letty's health to-day.' This was on May 11, when her son's daughter was eight months old. In previous letters she bids her husband tell 'sweet little Letty that grandmama says she has not seen so sweet a darling as herself'; and 'I have not seen so beautiful a pair of little blue eyes as dear Miss Letty's since I have been at Cheltenham.' Mrs. Pigott had no child that lived before she left England, and Lætitia Bernard therefore held the place of the first grand-child.

Mary Ann Bernard-Morland, called by her mother 'my play-fellow and nurse,' seems to have made herself very happy without society. She writes:

I believe it is about thirteen years since I saw a field full of cowslips, as at Lee the flower-girls gather them to sell in London, and it is long since we have been in Bucks in May.

She visited and appreciated Gloucester Cathedral, but another excursion seems to have been given up.

We have enquired about the road to Sudeley Castle, and have

been told that it takes one up such a steep hill, that would require four horses to drag a carriage up, therefore I doubt we shall be able to visit it.

Three weeks was the usual time allotted for taking the waters, and, moreover, the weather was chilly, offering no inducement to linger ; therefore, on the 20th, William and the horses went on to North Leach ; one horse had been unwell, and progress was rather uncertain ; but the travellers evidently started on the 21st, and next day Lady Bernard-Morland writes, from Salt Hill :

When we arrived at this place, we found it would be too late to reach London before dark ; and, being three females by ourselves, we decided not to trust to postboys so late, but to come on with William to-morrow morning, and we shall arrive in Pall Mall about one o'clock.

This visit seems to have produced some amendment ; but the writer of the letter did not attempt to see any part of the ceremonial at the Coronation of George IV. on July 19, which was evidently a most arduous undertaking. Mary Ann says : ¹

I went with Mrs and Miss Dymoke, Mrs Warre and Mr Warburton Davies to Westminster Hall. The procession began at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 and the King returned from the Abbey at 4. The banquet was at 6. A most splendid sight. The Champion, Mr Henry Dymoke, gave the challenge in excellent style. We left Pall Mall at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 in the morning and returned at 10 o'clock at night.

An 'Obituary Memoir' ² of George IV. states that :

Three hundred and twelve persons, besides the Royal Family, sat down to dinner. The tables were seven feet wide, and each person had two feet of space allotted to him. The backs of the chairs were Gothic arches covered with scarlet, and the hall was floored with blue cloth. At twenty minutes before eight, the King rose and left the Hall, and thus terminated the ceremony. The whole was magnificent and really beyond all precedent ; and never

¹ Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.

² *The Annual Biography and Obituary*, 1831, No. IV. 'His Majesty George IV. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.

did his Majesty appear in better spirits than throughout this fatiguing day.

This Miss Bernard-Morland saw; what happened elsewhere she of course did not see. The writer of the 'Memoir' continues :

It is painful to proceed. The Queen, who on this, as on many other occasions, was unquestionably ill-advised, appeared during the ceremony at the several entrances of the Abbey and the Hall, and was, of course, everywhere refused admittance. This was the last of the humiliations that this ill-fated Princess was destined to receive. It embittered the few remaining days of her life, and most probably hastened the approach of death, which on the 7th of August put an end to her sufferings.

Of the shocking, yet affecting, scenes attending the passage of the Queen's body through London on its way to Brunswick, I find no mention. Only in a letter to her son Francis Lady Bernard-Morland says : ¹

It was very wrong not to have the funeral service read over the Queen's Remains some where or other.

Her faults were many, but the English did not exalt themselves by declaring her husband 'the first gentleman in Europe.'

Mary Ann records a tour in the Isle of Wight, commenced August 7, the very day of the Queen's death. I infer from a passage in a letter that both her father and mother were with her at least part of the time; on one occasion she and Frank had a long day together. The parents probably went no further than was necessary, having undertaken the journey for reasons of family business. It is curious to observe by what short stages they travelled—this may have been to suit the invalid; but it also afforded an opportunity of visiting friends. They stopped the first day of their outward journey with Mrs. Brown, of Horton, Surrey, a connection, and her husband the Rev. Mr. Brown, and then, on the 9th, 'Went to Mr. Mackinnon's, Portswood

¹ Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland.

House. Introduced to the celebrated Col. Daniel Mackinnon.'

Having well explored the island, Miss Bernard-Morland went to Winchendon, and then to Kimble—attended a christening of three children—'Anne Margarett¹ and the twins,' at Horsendon, and then followed the inevitable Risborough Ball, on December 6. 'My Mother and Mrs. Tompkins were Patronesses; Frank and Mr. Tindal were Stewards.'

If Lady Bernard-Morland felt equal to attending, it must have been with great effort. But she writes cheerfully to her son Frank in September from Winchendon,² saying that she feels better, and intends to join her neighbours 'at a dinner party which Mr. Justice Kipling gives next Thursday to me—and we are to take a bed at his worship's house.' The reverend gentleman's elevation to the dignity of a Bucks magistrate apparently provoked this sally. Then follows an account of Sir John Aubrey's grand doings—they were evidently something unusual in that day—at least in Bucks :

Sir John Aubrey has been giving a grand Turtle feast, but as old Walsh was there we could not be invited. I was sorry—all the neighbours &c wondered at not meeting us there. Sir John had 2 Haunches of Venison, a Turbot, & other fine things, such as Game, Ices, fruit &c. Parson Hayton was invited—all the Parsons were at it but A Becket Turner; of course he was left out as things are at present—Mrs. Fox was one of the party.

There was evidently some political and perhaps personal trouble also between Sir John and the Marquess of Buckingham, whose Wotton seat was in close proximity to Dorton. The Rev. Thomas A Becket, who had adopted the additional name of Turner, was incumbent of Wotton. The Rev. Thomas Hayton probably officiated at Nether Winchendon even then. He afterwards obtained the perpetual curacy, which he held with Long Crendon. I know nothing

¹ Possibly Anne Margarett had been privately baptised before. Mr. and Mrs. Grubb had a large family, which was one of their reasons for leaving Horsendon.

² MS. Letter at Wheatfield, dated 'Sept^r 22, 1821.'

of Mr. Walsh, but he seems to have been the disturbing element on this occasion.

Not only had Lady Bernard-Morland her own weakness and the sad recollections of the previous year now to contend with, but she was in great anxiety about her sister-in-law, Mrs. King. She writes, on September 22, in the letter quoted above :

I fear your poor Aunt King's case is a hopeless one, & that she cannot last long. Your Aunt [apparently Lady Bernard] in her letter speaks of her.

Indeed, as it happened, Fanny King died on December 23.

It pleased God [said her biographer], that she who instructed others, should be called upon to put her own precepts in practice, under severe affliction of a very painful disease, which, after many months of suffering, brought her by slow steps to the grave. It remained to teach those about her how to die, as she had taught them how to live. Mrs King's fortitude, patience and resignation, while for several weeks she could not turn herself in bed, were equal to her active virtue in former life. Her spirit was refreshed by constantly looking forward to her Saviour's reward; and almost her last words were: 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

She died at Gateshead, Durham, on the 23rd of December, 1821, in her sixty-third year.¹

It is not surprising to hear² that when Lady Bernard-Morland left Kimble for Pall Mall, on the 31st, she was very ill.

The birth of a first grandson in Ireland (there were already two grand-daughters) on January 5, 1822, to be christened Francis Bernard, may have cheered her; but, on February 2, Mary Ann writes of herself: 'Went to the Painted Chamber to see the King open Parliament,' and then, 'Mama very ill.' After this she does not seem to have left her for any time. There was a consultation, on the 14th, between Sir Henry Halford and the family practitioner, Mr. Oak, of Greenwich.

¹ 'Memoir' prefixed to *Female Scripture Characters*, probably by her son-in-law, Mr. Collinson.

² Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland, from which all the particulars of the last scenes are derived.

The invalid rallied sufficiently to attend a small dinner-party at Lady Bernard's, on the 22nd, which she perhaps meant as a farewell. On March 1, her daughter states that she felt better, and made her will, but did not leave her room; the next day she was much weaker and spoke with difficulty; but received all her family, and took leave of her mother and Miss Stone. Mary Ann carried her harp into the bedroom and sang ballads to her dying mother. The next day and night were passed in sleep.

Sophia sat with me in the chamber. Sir Henry Halford and Mr Oak consulted for the last time. Papa and I sat up alternately in the bedroom. On the 4th the invalid continued to sleep; her husband read prayers by her bedside; gradually her breathing became more laboured,—and at 20 minutes after 5 [writes her devoted daughter], my dear and affectionate Mother died without a struggle. Papa and Rebecca Collins were in the room at the moment; Sophia, my two Brothers and myself, having just gone downstairs for some refreshment. Papa read some prayers by her bedside during the morning.

In a letter to her sister, Mrs. Pigott, the writer says:

I certainly never saw him so perfectly bewildered and melted before, and I hope I shall not again.

Mary Ann further relates how 'very calm and sweetly' her mother looked in her coffin; she visited the loved remains every day. Lady Bernard-Morland was buried at Great Kimble, on the 13th, her two sons being chief mourners; for the custom of the time prevented the widower as well as the ladies from attending. She was in her sixtieth year.

Two neighbours, Mr. Brooke and Mr. Meade, were among the pall-bearers. The family carriages and a few others followed. Elsewhere Mary Ann notes that 'my little brother Tommy' was also buried in Kimble vault—he had been, of course, moved there from Greenwich; and Lady Bernard-Morland was laid to rest with her two eldest children.

The enforced visit of Thomas Tyringham Bernard to Ireland will be mentioned in another chapter; the family

in London seem to have resumed their social intercourse by degrees, and, on July 1 :

Richard arrived from the East Indies, after an absence of more than 11 years. Very much altered, having grown brown and wrinkled. He landed yesterday at Weymouth, from the *Princess Charlotte*.

His sister went with him to Winchendon on August 13, his birthday; he attained only 29 on this day, notwithstanding his wrinkles. After a quiet fortnight or more, during which they were visited by 'The Bernards,' followed a tour through Wiltshire, of which county they, with Sir Scrope, explored the most remarkable localities, ending with a visit to 'Uncle and Aunt Smith at Melksham.'

It was in this year that Julia resolved on committing her 'Reminiscences' to paper, whether stirred into action by talking over the American days with Scrope I cannot say; but since she stopped short in her memories so very soon, it is to be regretted that he did not add his recollections, which would have varied and supplemented hers, to a certain extent at least. Dick and Mary Ann afterwards spent a pleasant time alone together at Kimble. Mary Ann had begun to ride this year, on a mare 'Pamela,' lent her by Sophia. Riding was not then so common an exercise for ladies as it has been since.

Perhaps the most interesting reminiscence of this year is the last letter¹ I have seen—written by Mrs. White—shortly before Dick's arrival. She was probably still in the same lodgings, but this is left uncertain. The letter, interesting from its recollections of early days, is dated only:

Lincoln June 26 1822

My dear Niece,—It is so long since I had the pleasure of seeing you that we seem half strangers to each other, & I am growing old so fast, that I cannot hope to renew our personal intercourse; but it gave me great pleasure to talk of you with good Mrs Dymoke, who told me 'the Roses were come back again,' which gave a satisfaction really secondary to the discovery of the tender feelings which had banished them.

¹ MS. Letter in the same volume with M. A. Bernard-Morland's Diary.

Her friendly and affectionate account of your family, so mixt with gratitude for your kind attention when she was in a different state, gave me a good opinion of her heart. I make them laugh with telling how I danced about with Master John (the present venerable Champion, then 6 months old) & helped Mrs Dymoke (the East Indian Lady) to make his Giams.

Scrivelsby at that time was almost in the style of Checquers in ancient Grandeur. The Champion of that time was very musical, & we had our little concerts every evening; Flute, Piano, & Violoncello; some dancing while others played. The little White Horse that had performed before K. Geo. the 3rd, came *of himself* every day at three o'clock (the dinner hour) & performed his evolutions, going round in the same ring, his usual number of times, & then Prancing, Curvetting, & showing off all his tricks of the ménage ['manège'] for near an hour; when he retired to take his range in the Park, appearing to be satisfied that he had done his day's duty.—After he came from the Coronation he was never to be mounted by any Person again.

What a consolation it must be to you my dearest Mary Anne that you was the comfort and solace of your amiable Mother to her latest hour, & that she was surrounded by her beloved family. I hope the recollection of that will enable you to recover your spirits perfectly in a little, for the sake of your worthy Father whose domestic stay & blessing you are become. I must also thank you very warmly & sincerely for your kindness to my Grandson, who tells me how good you have been & indeed to all your family. He was much pleased with meeting my Sister Lady Bernard at your Brother's in Pall Mall, for he thought it would be presumption in him to wait on her Ladyship without an invitation of some sort.

In this scribble my dear Niece don't imagine I am laying you under the tax of an answer forthwith—any time when you have anything to communicate that will save my kind Brother's time & trouble, it will give me very great pleasure. With affectionate remembrance to dear good Mrs. Morland, & all my family's united regards & thanks to yours.

I remain ever your affectionate Aunt

JANE WHITE.

When you write to Mrs. Pigot¹ please do not forget to send my love & good wishes.

¹ This should, of course, be 'Pigott.'

After this I have no further intelligence of the writer until her end, little more than seven months later, is recorded by her sister, Julia Smith, 1823 : ¹

Feb'y. 2.—Died at Lincoln, after a short illness, my last remaining sister Mrs. White, of the Christian excellence of whose character it would be difficult to convey the full estimate. From early days in the constant assiduous practice of the most active benevolence, the extent of her exertions are not fully known to any of her friends, but the poor of Lincoln, where she resided many years, can say more than any other persons of those her labours of Christian love. Frequently leaving her own home, to administer in person to the relief of sick & distressed People. To all Classes under embarrassment and trouble was her assistance held forth, and she seemed only to esteem money for the good she could do with it. The Poms and Vanities of the World seemed to have no possession of her heart; & a negligence as to external appearance was thought by many to be a defect in her character, but thousands of Poor have blessed her & shall testify for her at the last great day. Wherever she resided, this impression of her was unvarying.

She was seventy-six years of age. By her death Scrope and Julia, the two youngest of Sir Francis Bernard's children, were left the sole survivors.

¹ In Mrs. Smith's *Reminiscences*.

CHAPTER XXXIV

VISITS TO IRELAND AND A DAUGHTER'S MARRIAGE

Thomas Tyringham Bernard visits Ireland—The Marquess Wellesley's Friendship with Scrope Bernard—His Unpopularity in Irish Society—Half-pay Officers in Ireland—Courtship of Rev. Frederick Charles Spencer and Mary Ann Bernard-Morland—Richard Bernard-Morland visits Ireland—Wheatfield—Richard's Return to India—Birth of Harriet Frances Spencer.

It was, as already stated, very soon after the death of Lady Bernard-Morland that Thomas Tyringham Bernard was compelled to undertake a journey to Ireland on business connected with the office 'for the payment of officers reduced on Irish half-pay,' as it is called in a memorial setting forth the unfair nature of the treatment dealt out to these officers. As this memorial was issued subsequently to Thomas Bernard's visit, it will be quoted later on. He had already been once at least in Ireland with his father, perhaps on the business of the same office, to which both he and his brother Francis belonged; possibly more than once, for he often spoke of the country as if he had spent some considerable time in it, not only at Dublin, but in various regions to which he had been called by affairs, and also in several gentlemen's seats.

He described the life as remarkable for its jollity, including much well-intentioned hospitality, but also as rough and lawless, which is the picture usually presented by both English and Irish writers. England was, no doubt, different at that period from the present England, but Ireland had characteristics which astonished English travellers. I remember my father stating that in some town where he stayed a while the nice refined-looking landlady waited on him without shoes or stockings. At the house of a Mr. Power, I believe—the locality I cannot remember—a valued man

servant went to the fair, and came back, with his head and limbs battered, only to die. He was unable to assign any reason for this rash excursion, save: 'My bones were getting rusty for want of a good bating.' On one occasion my father was accompanied by an armed escort, and traversed the country in considerable peril. Probably a writ had to be served.

In connection with the visit mentioned in the present chapter it may be stated that the Marquess Wellesley, who was the eldest brother of the Duke of Wellington, and in early youth, when successively Viscount Wellesley and Earl of Mornington, had been the friend of Scrope Bernard,¹ was now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. I do not know whether this appointment, which was recent, had any influence on Thomas Bernard's movements, but it seems not improbable that he or Scrope hoped for a favourable hearing for his son, in consideration of the early friendship, which had not, indeed, been entirely broken off. In 1794, when Earl of Mornington, this nobleman had married a mistress by whom he already had several children, and over whom I suppose a certain glamour had been thrown by the idea that she was daughter of the Girondin Minister, Roland, and the Marquess's celebrated wife. For this idea there appears to have been no foundation beyond, no doubt, the similarity of her father's name. She was daughter of 'Pierre Roland and Hyacinthe Daris of the city of Paris'; but the more interesting version of her story must have been carefully promulgated, since my father appeared to believe in it implicitly. When Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General of India, he found it necessary to leave his wife in England; and, as he no doubt banked with Ransom & Morland, he must have induced Scrope Bernard to look after matters of business for his wife, since she addressed to him several by no means scholarly letters on the subject of rents, &c., by which she seems to have been much worried.

In 1799, the year of his elevation to the Marquisate, the Governor-General sent Mr. Bernard a newspaper, enclosed in

¹ See chap. 3 in vol. iii. of this Family History.

an envelope marked 'Private,' announcing his probable retirement. The address on the envelope was entirely in his own hand. He did not, however, leave India till 1805, when he spent some time in a state of gloom, discontented with his altered position and the more splendid reputation of his brother, Sir Arthur. I have two notes of this period :

Gillow's Hotel,

Albemarle St.,

Monday, Feb. 1st, 1808.

My dear Bernard,—I am very sorry that I happened to be under the necessity of being in the country when you proposed to call upon me. I shall be happy to have the pleasure of seeing you either to-morrow or Wednesday at three o'clock.

Yours most sincerely

WELLESLEY.

The second is dated 'April 13th' in the same year :

My dear Bernard,—In consequence of illness I have been unfortunate enough not to meet you when you have been so kind as to call. Pray let me know when and where I can have the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours always most sincerely

WELLESLEY.

These notes are sufficient to show the existence of a friendly feeling. I have no further data. In 1821 the Marquess became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He had separated from his wife soon after his return from India, and she had died in 1816, so that no difficulty arose on that score.

From a passage in one of his letters it appears that Thomas had also some business to transact for his father, who must have kept up some connection with Ireland, though I do not know in what way. The business was apparently formal. As to the special matter which he undertook, his letters afford some curious information. After a boisterous passage of nine hours from Holyhead, he reached Dublin, whence he wrote the following letter to Sir Scrope :

Dublin, 15th April, 1822.

I have seen Woodward this morning and have been settling with him our future operations. He is perfectly willing that his

letters and observations should be given to the Lord-Lieutenant. We have likewise ascertained from one of the clerks in the Muster Master General's Office that more than £60,000 is paid to officers resident in Ireland from the British Establishment, whereby an unnecessary expence to government of £5,000 per annum is created ; this assertion I propose making, and shall refer his Excellency to the Muster Master General's Office for the authenticity. We cannot mention our authority as it would bring the individual into trouble for disclosing the accounts.

I have taken a room at the Leinster Hotel Dawson Street for a guinea a week, which will answer my purpose better than a boarding house for my short stay. His Excellency was yesterday very ill, his pulse upwards of 120, but I hope he will be well by Thursday. He takes great quantities of opium, and is very nervous. I have heard nothing yet in his favour from the Dublin gentry, who are most violent in speaking of him and most devoutly pray for his speedy removal. He keeps the service at the Castle Chapel waiting frequently more than an hour, where all the principal rank of the town go, and hardly ever keeps an appointment. Since the Duke of Richmond's time, the Lord Lieutenants have been gradually paring down their establishment ; but now it has arrived at a very low ebb and there are persons in Dublin living quite as handsome as their Viceroy. He keeps up no table but his private one.

On the 17th Mr. Bernard wrote :

. . . I have just been to the Castle to inquire about to-morrow's Audience, and the answer was, there would be no audience to-morrow, as his Excellency's health would not admit of it ; and on further inquiring how soon an audience would be given, the answer was—certainly not this week, possibly to-morrow week.

His Excellency must either be in very bad health or determined to shirk many important duties of his office ; audiences are no expence, and no plea on that score can excuse him. He has even made the Privy Council come to him at the Phoenix Park,—a thing never done by his predecessors. No man in his situation has ever excited so much disgust amongst the genteel ranks as the noble Marquis has done since his arrival in Ireland.

I have copied out George Mills's list of Half Pay Officers transferred from Ireland to England, intending to hand my copy to the Lord-Lieutenant ; in it I have left out three or four names

of officers I know to be English residents, such as General Gore Brown and others; it comprehends those in the year 1815 and 1816, and exceeds two hundred in number.

On the 21st Mr. Bernard continues his narrative :

. . . I have heard nothing satisfactory from the Castle as yet ; the Lord-Lieutenant's Private Secretary is a Mr. Johnson, one of his illegitimate sons, and is the constant attendant on his person. He never comes to Dublin without his Excellency, and is no more accessible than his Master. The State Porter at the Castle sends him parcels and letters three times a day, and the business which was usually done by audiences is now principally done by enclosing the substance to the private Secretary to be laid before his Excellency.

As late as Thursday last the Lord Chancellor transacted business by the bedside of the Lord-Lieutenant. His Lady retold that circumstance at Mrs. Armit's that very night, and a Privy Council was held in the same manner. If I cannot get an interview by Thursday next I shall begin to despair of effecting one, and think then I had better enclose my papers, with a letter to the private Secretary explanatory of my purposes. His Excellency does not like to be thought unwell, but everyone thinks he is in a very indifferent state of health, and many people say not likely to mend. . . .

On the 24th no progress had been made.

. . . I went this morning to the Castle to inquire about the audience to-morrow, but found, as I expected, there was to be none. I then went to Mr. Archdeacon Bissett, to consult him on what should be done, (having previously consulted Mr. Armit and Woodward.) He told me there had been no audience for six weeks, and there was not likely to be one for many more ; that he had been trying to see his Excellency for the last month and had not been able ; I then asked him how I could get an interview with the private Secretary ; after some consideration, he offered to take me in his carriage to the Phoenix Lodge, and get me into the house, and then try to find the Secretary ; which offer I thankfully accepted, and took my papers with me, and was fortunate enough to get an interview.

I opened my case to him as briefly as I could,—he being in a very great hurry,—and handed over your letter, with the papers, which he has promised to lay before his Excellency. The Arch-

deacon told me the Lord-Lieutenant's complaint was principally nervous. He was pretty well one day, and very bad the next ; his physician is looking out a house for him near Bray, where he intends to reside, as Dublin and its environs does not agree with him. His spirits are very low and his temper irritable, and the Archdeacon thinks he will never be much better.

Mr. Johnson says he will let me know whether there is any probability of my getting an interview ; if it should be denied me I conceive my stay in Dublin need not be prolonged, as the objects of the visit will be, as far as circumstances will permit, accomplished.

I went to a ball at the Rotunda last night in honour of his Majesty's birthday, and met all the rank and fashion of Dublin who settled the entertainment, in lieu of that which they had a right to expect from the Castle.

Dublin 26th April . . . I have as yet heard nothing relative to my business from the Court quarter of the town. I purpose, if I hear nothing paying Mr. Johnson another visit next week, to get from him what has transpired with his Excellency on that subject ; I have not however much hopes given me by those who know much of the Lord-Lieutenant as to the probability of receiving any answer ; he having uniformly treated all applications to him on affairs of private interest with silence, nor has he admitted any but the Privy Council into his presence these two months. The new establishment he is about to form near Bray is expected not to be of the most decent or chaste description ; it being pretty generally supposed the unhealthiness of the environs of Dublin arises from the publicity to which any flagrant breach of morality or propriety would be given.

I propose, if I can perceive no chance of being admitted into his presence by Saturday week (4th May), to return to England, as my stay here can answer no purpose I can foresee. I purpose setting out to-morrow evening to Eagle Hill and returning on Monday to Dublin.

This was the Irish home of Mr. Bernard's sister Margaret, and his next letter is dated from there :

Eagle Hill 30th April 1822.—I left Dublin at eight o'clock on Saturday evening, after having received a letter from my wife enclosed by you, for which I am much obliged to you, and arrived at Eagle Hill at two o'clock on Sunday, and found Margaret looking very well as were her three children, the eldest of which

is very much like her. On Monday they took me to Portumna Castle, the seat of the Earl of Clanrickarde, an ancient and spacious mansion on the banks of the Shannon ; the situation is very imposing and beautiful, and the grounds are well planted.

My Sister's place is very pretty and exceedingly well cultivated, and the land very rich, but lays in the midst of wretchedness and oppression, and the natives are treated worse than cattle by their landlords. I shall be in Dublin to-morrow and shall see Mr. Johnson again, who I informed of my intended absence from Dublin.

And now comes the final scene :

His Excellency held an audience this morning, and as I was very anxious to be high on the list, knowing the numbers that were likely to be present, I went to the Castle before breakfast and set my name down, having only four above me ; one o'clock was the appointed hour ; at about two his Excellency arrived with his private Secretary. I had been about twenty minutes in the Aid-de-Camp's room when the Aid-de-Camp came out of the Lord Lieutenant's room and called me by name ; on my answering, he told me if I had anything to say or do with his Excellency I must go down stairs to the private Secretary, as his Excellency could not see me.

I accordingly went down, and the private Secretary told me he had laid my papers before Lord Wellesley, and they would be taken into consideration in due time. I then asked him whether by staying some time longer I could facilitate the inquiry about to be made. He answered me—there were so many grave matters before his Excellency that I could not expect that immediate attention, and that the Lord Lieutenant had no occasion of my remaining. He then bowed me out of the room.

I totally despair of benefitting the Half Pay Office through Lord Wellesley, as the sending me out of the Audience Room, and the great indifference with which my business has been treated, shews clearly he does not intend to trouble his head about it.

I received a letter this morning from Captain Glascott, who informed me he should be in town to-night, and would wait upon me to-morrow with the papers. I am invited to meet him at dinner by Mr. Blennerhasset. Sir Frederick Flood got me the invitation, whose daughter has a mortgage on the estates. As I have got my quietus from the Castle, and your business will be settled to-morrow, I purpose starting for England on Sunday, and hope to be in London by Tuesday night.

Mr. Bernard had received a summons to go out with the Bucks Yeomanry on May 18.

In 1823 Mr. Woodward wrote to Sir Scrope from Dublin :

I am so irritated at the Ill-treatment your Sons' office met with, that I cannot reconcile it to myself, and only wish I was a MP. while I could prove that a Return should be laid on the Table of the number of Halfpay officers, paid in Ireland, from 25 Dec^r 1822 to 24 March 1823, &c. &c.¹

I possess the Memorial drawn up by Sir Scrope in his sons' name ; it is, however, a rough draft, and may have been more or less altered subsequently :

Memorial of Francis Bernard Morland and Thomas Tyringham Bernard Esq^{rs}, Agents for the Halfpay Officers on the Irish Establishment.

Most Humbly Sheweth

That an office in Ireland for the payment of Officers reduced on Irish Halfpay has existed since the Establishment of it in the Reign of King William the Third in 1699.

That at the conclusion of a War the Officers of Regiments disbanded were proportioned between Great Britain. Those Officers dismissed in Ireland were returned by Government to the Irish Halfpay Office for payment and continued therein until removed by Promotion or Death.

The Memorial proceeds to state that the office of Agent for Half-pay Officers in Ireland has always been at the disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant, and that the memorialists had been appointed as the sole recognition of their father's services as secretary. It continues :

That the Profits in time of War being inconsiderable, your Memorialists have been always buoyed up with the expectation of the great advantage they should derive from the Reduction of the Army upon the Event of a General Peace.

That this event having since happened, they conceived the time was arrived for their enjoying the full benefit intended them, but the circumstances hereinafter stated [have?] been intervened to disappoint them in this hope.

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

That in the year 1814 it was thought expedient to make an arrangement by which the Half Pay Officers should be paid in the country in which they respectively resided, viz. those resident in Great Britain by the Half Pay Office in London, and those in Ireland by the Half Pay Office in Dublin, each in the currency of the country in which he resided, the same as is done in the payment of Officers' Widows.

Had the Measure stopped here, your Memorialists would have felt themselves bound to acquiesce in it as a useful public regulation, however disadvantageous to them. But a practice has followed, which does away with the very object of the Regulation; since it has become common for Officers residing in Ireland, and consequently attached to your Memorialists' Department, to apply with success to be transferred to the British Half Pay List, for the purpose of receiving British money. This clashes with every principle upon which the new Regulation was founded. It prevents their being paid by the country in which they reside; it increases the Burthen of Half Pay to the Kingdom. It lavishes on those living where Provisions are cheap the benefit of British Currency in no respect due to them. And it tends gradually to transfer all Business relative to Irish Half Pay to the other side of the Channel, where from the distance it cannot be so conveniently attended to.

Your Memorialists saw without a murmur the first Regulation taking from them all the Irish Officers resident in Great Britain, but this second measure, by an invasion of the Rule, takes from them many of those residing in Ireland, thereby gradually depriving them of their Dues, and tending ultimately to set aside the Irish Half Pay Office, to the great injury of your Memorialists, as well as to the disadvantage of the Government, which pays the Parties at a higher rate than that to which they are regularly entitled.

Then follows a recapitulation and humble entreaty for redress.

Miss Bernard-Morland wrote to Mrs. Pigott on May 21:

Grandmama was here with Miss Stone when Tom first came up to see me on his return from Ireland, so that they heard all the news, and were much interested. Tom spoke favourably of your house, grounds, & neighbouring county. He confirmed the accounts of the generally wretched state of the poorer Irish. I think you must live as a Queen among them, from your naturally

benevolent disposition, especially if they can overlook your Protestantism. I was amused with the great partiality for *accomplished dancing* which he spoke of. And your Steward's *expensive* house.

These allusions are not further explained, but an approximate guess at their meaning would not be difficult. The writer continues :

He said you were all looking well, that you had a fine colour, and seemed quite wrapped up in your children. I am sorry for your great anxiety for them. I think he said that Molly was to be like you and Harett like Pigott; he called both rather dark, or at least in comparison to his own little fairy. Letty Lotty is a sprightly resemblance of little Emily Nugent, and as like her Papa's miniature (by Jones) as possible.

Mrs. Pigott eventually found it possible to visit her neighbours; indeed, as her children grew up it became desirable. Her Protestantism does not appear to have stood in her way with any class. When, fifteen or more years later, the family went to spend some time in Dublin, the property was in no way disturbed, although riots were taking place in co. Galway. A friendly Roman Catholic priest went unasked into the house to protect it from the mob. The rioters, however, walked carefully round the piece of 'demesne' in front of the house, not crossing it, lest they 'should spoil his honour's grass,' and went straight on to attack another place inhabited by a Roman Catholic gentleman.

When Miss Bernard-Morland returned from the Wiltshire excursion mentioned in the last chapter, she was still probably in a subdued state of mind, consequent on the loss of the mother to whom her whole life had been largely devoted, and was in the mood to welcome the dawn of a new hope. It so happened that the Rev. Frederick Charles Spencer, rector of Wheatfield, Oxon., and son of Mr. John Spencer and his wife, Lady Elizabeth, consulted the Duchess of Buckingham about finding a wife, and arrived at Kimble on November 12¹ with a letter of introduction from

¹ Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland.

the Duchess to Sir Scrope. I do not know what was actually expressed in that letter, but it is evident that the idea of courtship was present in Mr. Spencer's mind, and was soon taken up by Miss Bernard-Morland, at the instigation perhaps of her father. The young couple were both twenty-six years of age, but Mary Ann looked nearly ten years younger. She was very pretty, as her unfinished portrait by Harlowe, as the Comic Muse, testifies. She played and sang agreeably, but her higher qualifications of course her suitor had to learn; though report had no doubt spoken of her virtues as a daughter. Mr. Charles Spencer was handsome and aristocratic; all that Mary Ann could find to criticise was his front face, which wanted character, but this no doubt she soon got over. He spent a few days at Kimble, and the acquaintance was continued in the winter at Pall Mall.¹

From a pecuniary point of view the alliance was not so brilliant as in the matter of rank and connection. Lord Charles Spencer, son of the second Duke of Marlborough, third holder of the title, had bought the manor and advowson of Wheatfield, Oxon., and lived there most hospitably—too much so, indeed, for a younger son, even of a duke. This state of things came to an end, however, through the carelessness of servants, which led to a conflagration at the Manor-house. On this occasion the French prisoners from Thame did good service in preventing the spread of the flames, but the house was destroyed. Mr. John and Lady Elizabeth, who was daughter of the next Duke, had been in the household of the Duke and Duchess of York, but she was dead, and her husband was living abroad at the time of the Bernard-Morland courtship.

Meanwhile Richard Bernard-Morland paid a visit to Ireland, apparently to see all he could before his return to India, but especially his eldest sister and her children. He started on February 12, 1823,² but he nowhere writes of

¹ The information concerning the Spencer family is derived from *Peerages*—Debrett and Burke, 'Marlborough, Duke of'—and from information received in conversations of various relatives.

² Diary of M. A. Bernard-Morland.

severe weather as enhancing any other inconveniences, so it must be supposed that the winter was particularly mild. He writes :

When first I entered the coach at Piccadilly I found there two other passengers who went as far as Oxford and then left us. Having arrived there late at night, I was very glad I took what dinner I did before I started, for, if I had not, I should have gone without altogether.

After supping at Oxford we set out again and travelled all night and next day until I arrived at Shrewsbury; when I was very tired and fatigued, and after dining retired to bed at eleven o'clock. The scenery on entering Shrewsbury was very beautiful; but the coach made such a number and such short stoppages on our way, that we could not partake of a meal in comfort; and the inn at Birmingham was very dirty and filthy, where we were to have our breakfast.

Well, the next day I started again at five o'clock in the morning with three new passengers, a lady and her Brother, and a Captain Makepeace, and travelled through Wales to Holyhead; the scenery in Wales generally speaking was very beautiful, and surpassed anything I had any idea of; but when we came to Holyhead, the inn where we were to sleep was very bad, and possessed not the least comfort; so I started again next morning at about seven o'clock in Captain Skinner's steam-packet, which I must confess has more motion than any sailing-vessel; it blew fresh, and every passenger was very sick with the exception of two besides myself, one of which was a lady;—we arrived at last after seven hours and a half at Howth, where they seized your fine box, and insisted upon sending it to the Custom-house at Dublin, and I was forced to go to Mr Ball the banker to try and get him to assist me to get it out again, which he did, and sent a gentleman with me; but they insisted on looking at everything, and pulled them all out accordingly; and I was informed at Dublin to be careful of the letters, that if any one by chance was to see them, I should be fined £10, many having suffered in the same way before; the informer getting half,—but that at the Custom-house the people belonging to that house never take notice of these things, but the Post Office only.¹

It seems, therefore, to have been a recognised practice to smuggle letters, no doubt in consequence of the high rate of

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

postage ; possibly the Post-office authorities had but recently determined on enforcing the penalty, since Richard was apparently not aware of the risk he ran. As he does not seem to have intended getting rid of the letters at once, it is quite likely that they were addressed to his sister by different members of the family. The 'fine box' about which there was so much trouble probably contained presents from Miss Bernard-Morland to Mrs. Pigott, such as children's frocks, pretty knitted socks, diversified by dolls and picture-books ; perhaps also the good grandmother contributed a share of its contents. Then comes a recital of hospitalities from strangers, such as in those days were commonly at hand, especially in Ireland, to make amends for the tedious and irritating journeys.

I put up in Dublin at the Waterford Hotel with Captain Makepeace my fellow-passenger, a very gentlemanly man of the 5th Dragoon Guards, who introduced me to several of his friends and brother officers, and gave me an invitation in case of my coming near his regiment, of putting up with him.—I dined at Mr Ball's, the banker, on the Thursday following, and was introduced to the young ladies, who are very fine girls. I likewise called at the Solicitor's and met with great attention everywhere ; I went to two plays and a ball at the Rotunda, and was shown everything that was to be seen in Dublin by a Mr Kirwan and Sir James Stainer ; the theatre is very badly attended, and I only wonder it exists at all. The public buildings are very beautiful, with the exception of the Castle, but the town in other respects is nothing particular.

Further on he writes : ¹

I had not been more than four days in Dublin when I received an invitation to be a Collector for a Charity of a hundred and fifty boys and girls ; so you see a man of my consequence cannot move unnoticed.

Living in Dublin was, however, 'very expensive,' and Richard did not remain.

I set out on Friday evening for Loughrea, and arrived on Saturday, where I passed the day and night at Pigott's brother's

* ¹ Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.

house, and came on with Pigott to Eagle Hill last Sunday where I now am; they appear to be all very comfortable, and the scenery about is pretty.

After describing the sizes of the children relatively to his little niece in England, from which account it is evident that he most admired the last comer, Francis Bernard Pigott, a fine boy, he adds :

Pigott intends visiting London; I shall therefore in all probability accompany him part of the way.

His own destination was Cheltenham, where he may have remained for a course of waters, as it was not till May 8 that he arrived thence in London.

Meanwhile the courtship progressed. On May 22 Mr. Spencer wrote to Sir Scrope 'to ask his permission and assistance to gain my affections.' So writes Miss Bernard-Morland,¹ and on June 12, just after the dinner and ball which seem to have been always held in honour of Mrs. Tyringham Bernard's birthday—the 11th—a definitive engagement was announced. The young lady was introduced to the sisters of her betrothed; his father was living at Neuchâtel, and some delay in the marriage arrangements occurred unexpectedly from the necessity of lawyers being sent thither for his signature.

On June 29, the good grandmother, Mrs. Morland,² gave a large family party at Lee in honour of the approaching marriage. But Sir Scrope did not leave town with his daughter and Dick until August 5, and at Winchendon they were soon joined by Mr. Spencer. He was now remodelling and enlarging the rectory house at Wheatfield, which was to be the home of the couple. It lay some little way beneath the eminence on which the manor-house had stood beside the little church, amid grounds of which traces still remain. The situation of the rectory, divided though it

¹ Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland.

² The particulars in this paragraph are chiefly taken from the often quoted Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland, and from personal acquaintance with Wheatfield.

was from the manor-house and the church, was pretty, if unpretending. On August 14 its future lady paid her first visit there, of which she wrote an account to Mrs. Morland only a few days later :

. . . Last Thursday we made an excursion to introduce me to Wheatfield, and I confess I was very much pleased with the appearance of my future home ; for I had conceived so strong an idea of the flat dreariness of Oxfordshire, that I was agreeably surprised to find a great variety of ornamental scenery in my domain. Of course I cannot speak of the house itself, because there is only half of it standing now ; but there is a nice little lawn and flower-garden, and immediate access to the grounds of the old House. The village is very small, with some pretty lanes and tolerable roads. We took a pic-nic dinner with us and dined in a rustic temple. Some of the farmers' daughters were very anxious to get a peep of me, and for that purpose they walked up and down before the house for an hour, but Charles was so angry with their rude inquisitiveness, that he desired I would keep within doors until they were tired.¹

A conventional wall of separation probably existed then, as in later times, between Bucks and Oxon ; a bride from over the border was, therefore, a real wonder, and this consideration may to a certain extent excuse the over-developed curiosity of the farmers' daughters.

As a fact, Miss Bernard Morland had been very near the new home at Wheatfield when she drove with her mother to Cheltenham and dined at Tetsworth, and even the formidable hill of Stokenchurch was only a few miles distant. But as she entered the county by Thame, a somewhat different approach, she perhaps did not realise this.

In another letter, written on October 5, the very eve of the marriage, the young lady returns thanks to the 'Evergreen of Greenwich,' by which complimentary title she designates her grandmother, for 'a most beautiful needle-case,' for a tea-chest, and a pretty set of china, 'which will be always valuable to me as a memorial of my Greatgrandmother and Godmother,' meaning Mrs. Mills, to whom the

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

set must have belonged. The bride-elect also informs Mrs. Morland that Mr. Spencer will allow her to visit her grandmother before his own relations, and that, consequently, the newly married pair might be with her on the 21st. The kind old lady was apparently contemplating festivities in honour of her grand-daughter's marriage, at which her eldest grandson was to be present, since the letter continues :

I hope the cake and favours will arrive in good time for your fête, and that Frank will be able to give an agreeable account of our actions at Winchendon.

A family party had assembled in the house, which included the bridegroom's two sisters, Georgina and Elizabeth Spencer. On this same day, as the bride-elect has herself recorded, she 'cut up the cakes,' with the help probably of friends. Of the wedding-day, October 6, she left the following record :

I awoke at 7 o'clock, hearing the Cuddington band coming over the meadows playing 'Rule Britannia' and 'Come haste to the wedding.' After dressing I sat down to needlework until all was ready. A very wet morning, but fine in the afternoon. Mr Kipling married us at about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. The party present were my Father, my two single Brothers as Bridesmen, the two Miss Spencers as bridesmaids, Tom and Sophia and Lætitia, Mr Bertie and Mr Hamilton. There were no tears shed. Those who came to breakfast were Miss Wykeham, Messrs Aubrey Wykeham, Becket Turner, Hayton and Baron. There was a tent and refreshments for the villagers. After breakfast every one went away, and Charles and I remained at Winchendon.¹

In a letter of congratulation from the *protégée* of the Morlands already mentioned, Mrs. Brown, wife of the rector of Horton, Bucks, to the grandmother at Lee there is an allusion to the old lady's observance of the event, and a jocosely observation about her companion, Miss Stone, who was no longer young :

I must not forget to mention that I have been informed that Mrs Morland's carriage appeared very gay in Greenwich last

¹ Diary of Mary Ann Bernard-Morland, from thenceforth Mrs. Charles Spencer.

week, and that the wedding emblems in the servants' hats gave rise to a slight report that Miss Stone was married!

The visit of the young couple to Lee was, no doubt, paid at the appointed time, and then they went to stay at Blenheim and Cornbury.¹ For ten months they were not able to inhabit Wheatfield Rectory, but had rooms in an old posting-house, The Oak at Tetsworth. Soon after they had taken possession Mrs. Spencer had to bid her brother Richard farewell. It must have been a sad parting, for he returned to India, as I have heard, most unwillingly, in deference to the remonstrances of his relations. His morbid melancholy seems to have increased, and no efforts of his nearest and dearest could change his view of life. Mr. Spencer, I believe, loyally co-operated with the brothers and sisters. The expedient of taking a wife, which had often been suggested to him, he could not be persuaded to accept, or rather, perhaps, he never thought he had found the right person. So he resigned himself to his fate, and set sail from Portsmouth on September 25, 1824.²

On October 7 a daughter was born at Wheatfield—Harriett Frances, the copyist of the Diary. She records³ that the nurse came on a pillion behind the manservant, which no doubt her mother had reported as an unusual occurrence at that period. In May 1827 a fine boy, who received the names of Charles Vere rejoiced the parents. These early years of marriage record pleasant parties, in a neighbourhood well inhabited and apparently musical; also guests at home who appreciated the lively young hostess, and visits to interesting houses such as Wilton Park, Iver Grove, &c.⁴ But the cloud did eventually come, and these things were but of short duration.

¹ That is, with the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and with Lord and Lady Churchill.

² Diary of Mary Ann Spencer.

³ In a note.

⁴ The mode of life in those days at Wheatfield, where the Diary does not give information, is taken from what I have heard my aunt state in conversation.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE LAST OF THE GENERATION

Sir Scrope Bernard-Morland's Connection with Catholic Emancipation—His Interest in the Anglican College, Windsor, Nova Scotia—The American Exiles—Bishop Barrington—Consecration of a Chapel at Princes Risborough—The New Road to Oxford—Sir Scrope's Action against a Salmon Fisheries Bill—Thomas Tyringham Bernard-Morland enters the Pall Mall Bank—Death of Rev. Bernard Smith—Francis Bernard-Morland Inherits the Lee Property—Death of Sir Scrope—Failure of Duckett and Morland's Bank—Death of Julia Smith and of Richard Scrope Morland—The Last Baronet.

IN this chapter, which brings the Family History to a close, it will be seen that Sir Scrope Bernard-Morland was to the last occupied with many affairs, varying in dimensions and importance, but all tending to benefit some portion of mankind.

The first question on which I have any correspondence at this period is 'Catholic Emancipation.' It is unnecessary to go into the history of the Penal Laws, &c., affecting the Roman Catholics in Ireland, as their cruelty has long since been recognised, and the details may be read in the pages of many historians of recent times. The only record of any importance which I possess, connecting Sir Scrope with the struggle long carried on in Parliament, is a manuscript letter¹ from the O'Connor Don, written in the spring of 1821, which is here given :

Sir,—I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 3rd Inst last night, and find it altogether impossible to convey to you the sum of gratitude I feel for the obliging and friendly communication which it conveys.

Having had the honor of being frequently deputed by my

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

fellow-suffering Catholics to go to London in the hope that my attendance there might be useful to them, and having consequently witnessed the hostility to their claims on the part of many Honorable members of the House of Commons, I am well aware of the difficulties which you and the friends of the Catholics (I should say the friends of the Empire) had to encounter in your efforts to carry any Bill which would ameliorate their condition, and I therefore give you and them full credit for the best intentions, as well as for the most powerful exertions on this occasion, and I sincerely hope that the Lords will, with that honorable spirit which attaches to them, modify the Clauses which are so hurtful to the feelings of the Roman Catholic Clergy, and they think injurious to their religion.

I am clearly of your opinion that Laws are very frequently more rigid in the letter than in their execution, and I am confident that the restrictive measures you allude to would never be enforced to the extent directed by the Bill, and this would appear to me an argument for their modification,—for why make enactments which men would be unwilling to enforce?—yet I repeat my conviction that the many difficulties which you had to encounter would scarcely have permitted a Bill less severe in its enactments to be carried in the House of Commons.

I return you many thanks for having had the goodness to send me the intended bill which I received on Friday Eveng and I should have written to you to thank you for sending it to me yesterday, but that no Post leaves this country for Dublin or London on Saturday.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir

Your faithful humble Servt

O CONOR DON.

Blanagan

April 8th '21.

During the same period Sir Scrope was endeavouring to assist an Anglican College at Windsor in Nova Scotia,¹ in tiding over its difficulties. His correspondent was Dr. John Inglis, who was evidently an old friend, though I cannot produce any letter or memorandum of an earlier date, referring to him. He was the son of Dr. Charles Inglis,² at one

¹ *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, 1822, 'Windsor, a town of Nova Scotia, 25 miles N.W. of Halifax.'

² Sabine, *The American Loyalists*, 'Inglis, Charles, D.D.'

time Rector of Trinity Church, New York, who, after remaining at his post throughout the war, in a state of great discomfort, took refuge in Nova Scotia when, at the peace, England recognised the independence of her American Colonies. Here he became a member of the Council, and 'the first Protestant Bishop of any British Colonial possession in either hemisphere'—excepting, indeed, Dr. Seabury—and died in 1816 at the age of eighty-two.

The only intimation I ever had of the presence of Dr. John Inglis in England at an earlier period came from my aunt, Mrs. Pigott, who had a grateful remembrance of him, especially because, having heard, no doubt, of her engagement and the trouble in which she was thereby involved—he said farewell in the following words: 'God bless you, and all who are dear to you!' The following passage from a letter¹ to Sir Scrope—dated, 'Janry 8th, 1821'—however, corroborates her statement:

. . . Separated as we are from each other, and continually occupied with our engrossing and laborious pursuits, the recollection of your kindness, and of the respect and esteem with which I early regarded you, makes it impossible for me to be satisfied without now and then communicating with you. Cochran's letters have always been more welcome when they have given me an account of yourself and your amiable family, to whom M^{rs} Inglis and myself desire to be remembered with very affectionate respects.

He then proceeds to the subject on which he desired a continuance of advice and assistance:

You are well aware that our College at Windsor, which owes so much to your kindness and judgement, and zealous exertions, has been threatened with injury by the springing up of several sprouts of Colleges in the Provinces, which have been more favored because they were the work of Dissenters.—On this ground they should have no opposition from me, for I am far from thinking it unadvisable that each religious denomination should teach its own youth, when this is practicable, and greatly prefer it to the amalgamation of creeds and principles.—But if

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon,

these sundry Colleges were in strict and intimate connection with the established Religion, I should still think them highly inexpedient for this new country, for their inevitable effect must be to contribute mutually to keep each other from rising to respect and eminence.

Dr. Inglis then notes as the chief *desiderata* for his College, a new building, two more professors, and about twenty open scholarships; he enters at length into the possibilities of raising the needful funds, and the sources from which they may be derived; then, after making allusion to Queen Caroline and the threatening aspect of the times, adds:

I have good hopes in that elasticity of the British Constitution of which Sir Eardley Wilmot used to write and speak with peculiar animation.

In his next letter,¹ dated 'April 19, 1822,' Dr. Inglis alludes sympathetically to the recent death of Lady Bernard-Morland:

. . . For ourselves we feel that we have lost a kind, affectionate and respected friend. These are the events which shake our own hold. They make us feel the comparative unimportance of a little longer or shorter continuance in our passing pilgrimage, and the supreme importance of that other state, which is so soon to open upon the youngest and strongest of us.—May we daily be more and more prepared for it by the infinite mercy of our God.—Our fervent prayers are offered that you may be comforted in your affliction, by the consolations of divine grace, and that your heavy visitation may be sanctified to yourself and your family.

The writer then reverts to the former topic of the correspondence:

The Governors of the College cannot but feel the importance of your valuable exertions in behalf of their charge, and will expect me to offer their warmest thanks, which you will believe I do with sincere cordiality. The times are unfavourable to our object in a very discouraging degree, but our condition is such that we must push forward our case, although our attempts may

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

wear the appearance of some desperation. It is matter of real regret that we impose so much trouble upon a friend so kind as yourself, and especially when we know that your other avocations are numerous and laborious. . . . As far as you have been able to advance, everything seems to have been admirably and favourably done.

Another letter,¹ of 'May 26, 1822,' contains renewed thanks :

Prospects certainly are not flattering, but we must still hope in preference to death without a struggle. . . . The Governors sensibly feel how much is due to your kindness and exertions.— Surely such must be favored with some success.

In compliance with an order of the House of Commons, Sir Scrope described his position with regard to this negotiation. He says, in a letter written during March, 1822, to the Hon. H. Gray Bennet, chairman of a select committee :

I act as agent to the Governors of King's College in Nova Scotia, appointed by Royal Charter, but receive no salary or emolument whatever therefrom.

There is, in Dr. Inglis's second letter, an allusion to a time-worn and dismal topic, which has filled some pages of this book²—the wrongs and sorrows of American exiles. He says :

I am surprised at the difficulty of the Treasury in paying the Loyalist claims, and ashamed that your Son has had so much trouble. I cannot but be glad that it has not fallen on his father. I do not trouble him with a letter, as I have no more to say than that he has my best thanks for his kindness.

The son here mentioned would be either Francis or Thomas. The numbers of American Loyalists who had taken refuge in Nova Scotia made it a likely subject for Dr. Inglis to take up ; he was probably still advocating some claims of his own family, and perhaps those of other families in the same difficulty also ; and Sir Scrope had set a son to

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² See vol. iii. chap. 10, 'The American Loyalists.'

make another effort in this unlucky cause. As already said, I do not know when the end really came.

The same letter contains a passage which will fitly conclude the notices of Bishop Barrington scattered through these volumes. Sir Scrope's letter on this topic I do not possess, but other accounts depict the Bishop's old age as singularly calm and cheerful. Dr. Inglis writes :

Your account of your visit to the venerable Bishop of Durham, like all your narrative, is very interesting. I have long looked to his Lordship with filial duty and veneration, and sincerely thank God, with a joyful heart for the comfortable state of health with which his Lordship is blest when so far advanced beyond the age of man. It is not to be wondered at that such an old age, and so well-known to your venerable brother, should have prompted him to describe it in his interesting little volume. When you have the opportunity, pray present me to his Lordship with duty and respect, which are great and unfeigned.

Bishop Barrington survived till March 26, 1826, and thus attained the age of ninety-one years and ten months.

In 1825 an effort was made to extend church privileges to the inhabitants of certain isolated hamlets of Princes Risborough, and Sir Scrope, although he had only a small interest in the parish, took an active part in the movement. The following account of its origin is from a printed pamphlet at Nether Winchendon :

The Upper Hamlet of this extensive parish of Princes Risborough, 8 miles from High Wycombe, 7 from Aylesbury, and 37 from London, consists of 3 populous villages; viz: Speen, Lacey Green, and Loosley Row, lying above the Icknield Way, and situate upon the summit of the Chiltern Hills. They contain together upwards of 800 inhabitants, who for the most part are precluded from any convenient opportunity of attending Divine Worship according to the Rites of the Church of England, as by Law established, by reason of their remote situations, being from three to five miles distant from the Parish Church, to which the young, the aged, and the infirm can but seldom resort.

It was therefore proposed to build a chapel. The Rev. Richard Meade, incumbent of the parish, gave a site for the

building and cemetery in the central situation of Lacey Green. John Grubb, Esq., lord of the manor and patron of the living, gave eighteen and a half acres, in two lots, towards the endowment, Lord G. H. Cavendish eight and a half acres for the same purpose. Sir Scrope's donation was 10*l.* 10*s.*, which apparently represented his proportion of obligation fully ¹; and he was appointed one of the eleven trustees of the new Parochial Chapel. The arms of all the benefactors were exhibited on the east window and ceiling of the building. It would seem that Sir Scrope's shield appeared in both places, he being a trustee; how much of these primitive arrangements may have remained untouched to the present day, I do not know.

In course of time this chapel was ready for consecration, and the service could hardly have been more solemn apparently in these more ceremonial days. The Form ² to be observed sets forth that: 'The Honourable and Right Revd. Father in God, George by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Lincoln, attended by his Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Kaye Bonney, his Registrar, and the Clergy in their Robes, will proceed to the New Chapel, and be received at the West Door by the Revd. Richard Meade, the Incumbent of the Parish, the Ministers, the Churchwardens, Trustees, Subscribers, Inhabitants, and other attendants on the occasion, &c., &c.'

The first minister was the Rev. C. W. Hughes, A.B., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, licensed, September, 1826, on the nomination of the Vicar. It further appears that the Rev. Richard Meade was Rector of Horsendon as well as Vicar of Princes Risborough.³

Another matter, relating both to Bucks and Oxon, did not pass off so amicably as the foundation of the Lacey Green Chapelry. The question was whether a portion of

¹ This was also the sum given by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, by two successive Lords Viscounts Hampden, by Thomas Wethered, Great Marlow, and various other landowners. See Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Princes Risborough.'

² This Form is at Nether Winchendon.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Princes Risborough.'

the Oxford and London road, passing over the Chiltern Hills, should be superseded by a new road running through the flat portion of the country, of which there was enough and to spare; or, rather, as it turned out, what was the exact line the new road ought to take between Wheatley and High Wycombe.¹ Then arose a fierce controversy. Some part of it related to the portion between Wheatley and Thame, and with this Sir Scrope was not concerned; but there was an animated contest over the remaining portion, into which he was inevitably drawn. It is needful, in a family history, to recall these facts, because Mr. Lupton, the author of a 'History of Thame,' where he practised as a doctor, appeared at meetings in support of one line, and has perpetuated his views and the politics of his younger days in his later work on Thame.

One of the proposed lines ran by Kingsey and Aston Sandford to Risborough; the other by Bledlow, leaving Risborough a mile and a half out of the main road. Mr. Lupton thus tells the tale: ²

A line of road was projected, to carry the great road from London to Oxford through Thame, when the same surveyor, Mr. Telford, reported on this plan and declared it to be the best fifty miles of land between the two places, with great advantages of other sorts. The late Earl of Abingdon took up this project very warmly, and doubtless a bill would have been passed, but in the interim the late Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, Bart., waited on Philip Wykeham, Esq. of Tythrope House (who was then an earnest supporter of the line, and one of the committee) and like an old knowing parliamentary hand pointed out to him how much more it was to his interest to carry the line over Kingsey field to Risborough, (and it was truly so to Sir Scrope,) and thus the old plan was got rid of, and the great benefit of less elevation and shorter distance thrown aside. One very singular thing was that at a meeting held at Risborough it was voted that Thame was six miles from that place!

It was quite natural that Risborough should not wish to

¹ As to the question of the Wheatley and Wycombe Road also, a large bundle of MSS. is preserved at Nether Winchendon.

Lupton, *History of Thame*.

be left out in the new arrangement ; moreover, the people about Bledlow were not all agreed as to the advantage of the new road for them.¹ As regards Sir Scrope's share in the matter, it appears that so early as the last day of December, 1823, some of the inhabitants of Risborough had taken alarm at their proposed exclusion from the benefits of the new turnpike road, which they considered especially hard because the alternative road had already been made by their town as far as Aston Sandford. Whether Sir Scrope had expressed any decided opinion before that time I do not know : he was apparently not in the country at that moment ; but a copy of the resolution passed at the Risborough meeting was sent to him, and his presence was requested at a meeting to be held in Wycombe the following Tuesday.

By the desire of the Risborough people he undertook to advocate their cause ; and as their advocate he represented that the Aston Sandford and Kingsey route could be finished in a year, to the great benefit of the neighbourhood, whereas the Bledlow line would take a long time to make ; and he also suggested that the first-mentioned line need be no bar to the addition of the other at a later period, while the Aston Sandford line, if then stopped, would probably be altogether superseded. There were so many persons engaged in the warfare, on both sides, that Sir Scrope's arguments, though they may have persuaded Mr. Wykeham, and possibly some other persons, cannot have altogether decided the question. The Earl of Abingdon, who generally seems to have presided at the Thame meetings, as a Lord of the Manor, was a strong opponent ; he had at first agreed to allow the Aston Sandford line to pass through Thame field (apparently a common pasture on the Kingsey side of the town) ; but subsequently withdrew his permission, and took adverse views. By whom his Lordship was influenced, Mr. Lupton does not state.²

¹ From documents at Nether Winchendon.

² It is singular that Mr. Lupton should have published his *History of Thame and its Hamlets* while Sir Scrope's son, Mr. Thomas Tyringham

It is impossible to follow this weighty controversy through all its phases; suffice it to say that the Aston Sandford and Kingsey road was continued, and still appears on the Ordnance maps as the principal thoroughfare, although there is also a road through Bledlow. The Act of Parliament was obtained in 1825, and the work no doubt set on foot at once. The introduction of railways has since made the roads of less importance, although they have continued to improve; but it was many years before there was a line to Thame.

A large bundle of papers at Nether Winchendon refers to a Salmon Fisheries Bill, which was considered by the Irish Society injurious to its interests. In one of these documents the Bill is said to have been brought in by Mr. T. F. Kennedy; it provoked great indignation amongst Irish owners, and perhaps others also. On November 21, 1825, a meeting was held at Mr. Morrison's, in Dawson Street, Dublin, Colonel Edward Conolly presiding. Mr. Martin, owner of an extensive fishery in Sligo, moved a resolution which was seconded by Robert Day, 'late 2nd Justice of H.M.'s Court of King's Bench in Ireland,' owner of extensive fisheries in the same county. It was proposed that Sir Robert Peel should be asked to present a petition to the Commons, and that five noblemen of high rank should bring forward the cause of the owners in the Lords' House.

Sir Scrope took up arms against the Bill, especially on behalf of the Irish Society; it provided that all Salmon Fisheries should open and close at the same periods of the year. The Society's grievance is stated as follows:

The Irish Society of London (Petitioners against the Salmon Fisheries Bill) were incorporated by King James the First, for the purpose of colonizing the Province of Ulster with Protestants, and of promoting education, manufactures, and agriculture. To enable them to accomplish this laudable object, his Majesty granted

Bernard, was owner of Winchendon, and allowed him to have two copies, without apparently giving him an opportunity of rebutting the accusation or insinuation against his father. My father never mentioned the subject in my hearing, and perhaps thought it not worth notice. The book was published by subscription.

them (amongst other privileges) the Royal Fisheries of the Bann and Lough Foyle. The Bann is the river by which the celebrated Lough Neagh empties itself into the ocean, along a course of twenty-five miles. . . . The fishing season of the Bann according to the present existing laws, commences in January and ends on the 12th of August. The Salmon Fishery Bill proposes one general fishing time for the whole United Kingdom, namely from the middle of February to the middle of September. . . .

Another clause, ordering the close of the Fisheries between eight on Saturday evening and four on Monday morning, at all periods of the year, was objected to—notwithstanding the Sabbatarian character of the population—on the ground that it allowed time for many fish to rush through to the ‘Upper Fishery,’ which belonged to a different owner.

In a list of the principal ‘Salmon Fisheries of the United Kingdom, &c., &c.’ printed at this time, it is stated that the river Bann season ‘Begins in April, ends the 12th of August’; Lough Foyle: ‘Begins in May, ends the 1st of September’; whereas in Cork and Kerry the winter months were the usual season. Further details were given to show the inexpediency of a hard and fast rule. Sir Scrope corresponded with Mr. J. B. Sheil and Mr. Ellis on the subject, and I have found a letter¹ from Mr. Sheil, dated :

34 St. James’s Street
London Feby 27 1828.

Sir,—Mr. Alexander Dawson, M P for Louth, has promised me that he will make a speech in the House of Commons against Mr. Whitmore’s Bill at the 3rd Reading, to furnish him with information and my objections to the Bill, which he says he will state as forcibly as possible.

Now, as Mr. Dawson is a very good speaker, I hope that his support will be useful.

I have seen Sir George Hill this day, and he has promised to take every active concern in opposition to the Bill, and to speak against it.

Sir George lives at No 19 Downing Street. I have very little doubt from what I see of the success of my short canvass of

¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

votes but I shall be able to collect several additional opponents to the Bill.

It is unlucky that the Irish Assizes should occur at this time and occasion the absence of many members.—I am to see Mr Spring Rice to-morrow.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Faithful humble

Servant

J. B. SHEIL.

Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, M.P.

This affair seems to have been settled to the satisfaction of the Irish Society, since Mr. Shultes, writing from the Irish Chamber, Guildhall, suggests, in a letter to Sir Scrope, that he should write congratulations, which they would take as a compliment. It may be hoped that the other fishery owners were equally well pleased.

At this time, when Sir Scrope was left without a lady to keep his house, Kimble must have become a very quiet abode, even when its master was there. Winchendon was saved from utter desolation by a change of circumstances. At his father's wish, Thomas Tyringham entered the Pall Mall Bank,¹ and went to live near it. Goldingtons was let, and Sir Scrope gave the young couple leave to make Winchendon their country home at once; only coming down occasionally for Saturday and Sunday with his eldest son, Francis. To Winchendon, then, Mrs. Bernard took a merry band of cousins, more or less distant, and of young friends. The house, which Sir Scrope had never, with all his exertions, brought into perfect order, had been probably allowed to deteriorate, since Kimble became the favourite; indeed, Mary Ann's letters to Mr. Spencer reveal that he was a little surprised at its rough condition, which does not, however, appear to have troubled the visitors, except that some of the young ladies were terrified at the nocturnal noises—whether caused by ghosts, burglars, or wild beasts; and on one occasion—the communication between different portions

¹ I am not certain in what year this happened.

of the house not being so easy then as now—brought down mattresses to the dining-room, or hall as it was then called, as a safer place than any bed-room, and one in which they could meet the enemy in a united phalanx.

So primitive were the arrangements that, as I have heard, the tenant of the far end of the house had never been disturbed, and his wife was allowed to hold the dame-school there, where sewing and reading were taught; and Mrs. Bernard frequently looked in upon this school during her Winchendon visits. Before her departure she always arranged—as far as possible—the kind and amount of work to be accomplished during her absence. This she could the more easily enter into because she was herself an adept at many branches of needlework, which was then an essential part of a lady's education.

On Sundays, as I have heard my sister say, the village children crowded to open the churchyard gate for the family, and she had the charge of a bag of halfpence to be distributed amongst them. This was, no doubt, a mode of encouraging attendance at the Sunday-school, then held in the church, as well as at Divine worship, and might not be approved now, although it does not materially differ in principle from paying the choir, or even from giving teas and outings.

I mention these customs because they had passed away when I first knew Winchendon, some years later; my mother was no longer living, and I heard of them only from my sister and some old inhabitants.

The shock of his father's illness and death, together with the excitement and fatigue of the move from the home at Melksham, proved fatal to the Rev. Bernard Smith. He returned to Grantham with his wife, and his mother decided to make her residence there also; here he died on September 2, only two months after his father.¹

From India, Richard Bernard-Morland wrote, to his grandmother at Lee, what was very probably his last letter² to her, or the last she read; she was then over eighty:

¹ From various Family Records.

² MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

Berhampore 22nd July

1825

My dear Grandmother,—I left Calcutta on the 13th of July, in company with a fleet of Europeans three hundred in number and natives besides under the command of Major Whish of my Corps, and am proceeding up to Meerut to join that branch of the Horse Artillery, which is stationed there.

I was upwards of three months in Calcutta, having arrived on the 3rd of April; which was very dull, every one complaining of poverty, and giving no parties, and sporting poor equipages.—The Agents offering nine per cent for money, and the natives not very partial to paper currency.

Our present Commander in Chief Sir Edward Paget appears to be not at all fond of business; which makes him unfit for this Country, where *even* a young subaltern is often placed in situations, in which he must devote much of his time. You must, no doubt, have heard of the alarm the Government were in, in consequence of the Burmese war, the Mutiny of the Sepoys at Barrackpore, the application of one of the Agency Houses for a place to put their treasure in the Fort, the removal of the Government treasure there, also the sharpening of the Civilians' swords for the defence of Calcutta. The Government have been obliged to raise 12 regiments more of Native Infantry, 2 of Cavalry, and want to increase the number of Officers for the Service of the Artillery, the present number being proved so very insufficient.

The People have been all very sickly in Calcutta; in Fort William in particular, where they remained in a bad state even when I left.—We have lost in a journey only of nine days seven Europeans and four natives.—I now beg to mention, in case you should not have heard before, the death at Madras of Colonel Frederick Pierce (whom you knew) for general information.—And with love & kind remembrances to Miss Stone

I remain

Your dutiful & affect^d Grandson

R. S. BERNARD MORLAND.

Mrs. Morland, I believe, failed gradually in mind and body. Mary Ann records dining with her at Lee for the last time, May 21, 1826. She died on September 6 following, aged eighty-two, leaving a most affectionate remembrance in the hearts of her descendants, by whom she was cherished as a model grandmother.

The Lee property passed ¹ to her eldest grandson, Francis Bernard-Morland. Unfortunately, he began to pull the house down—I do not know exactly at what date, but it cannot have been long after he took possession—under the impression, as his sister, then Mrs. Spencer, explained to me, that no lady of any pretensions would marry him to live in such a house, which opinion she apparently endorsed. I never saw it, but a water-colour sketch (I think by Mrs. Spencer or Mrs. Pigott) depicted it as a quaint old residence, of red brick, but apparently of earlier date than the very square William III. houses. My mother and elder sister Lætitia, who had stayed there, regretted the demolition; but the mania for destruction is persistent. The only peculiarity I remember hearing of was the arrangement of a bell to every shutter, to give notice of burglars, which bells had a knack of ringing on all occasions without the slightest necessity, and were therefore by no means conducive, as intended, to a sense of security.

The property passed out of the family a very few years later, and, had it not passed from the family, I suppose eventually would have been sold for building. The old house was doomed by the fact of its vicinity to the all-devouring metropolis, as well as by the continual rage for novelty, never more conspicuous than of late years.

About this time a survivor of the old days passed away. Mr. Samuel Shore, of Mearsbrook, who had married Urith Offley, in 1759 ² (the year after Sir Francis Bernard's departure for America), and lost her in 1781, had since been the father of a family, by a second wife, who were brought up on his own paternal estate. Mrs. Sydney Shore, formerly Mary White, whose husband was the eldest grandson of the first marriage, writes ³ from Tickhill Castle, in September, 1827 :

I expect old Mr and Mrs Shore to-day, it is not every one who can visit at eighty and ninety.

Mr. Shore was apparently not turned ninety, for, in the November of 1728, Mr. Offley Shore, his second grandson,

¹ From Family Papers, and information.

² See vol. i., ch. x., p. 220, of this Family History.

³ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

announces his death in his ninety-first year, after only a few hours' illness.

The last records of Sir Scrope's intimacy with the Grenville family belongs to this period. In July 1827, the Duke of Buckingham, who had been raised to that rank in 1822,¹ was about to leave England for health and economy, an arrangement which involved shutting up Stowe and leaving the Duchess to reside at Chandos House in London. In his diary the Duke notes a visit to Dropmore, where he found Lord Grenville very feeble. He adds:²

On my way stopped at Eton, and met Sir Scrope Bernard by appointment. Executed deeds, transacted some business, and then saw young Nugent and Cholmondeley, whom I duly *pouched*.

It is curious that the Duke of Buckingham, and Lord Grenville also, call Sir Scrope by the old name of 'Bernard' only, although it was then all but merged in Morland, being often omitted or designated merely by an initial B.

December 2. . . . I have also letters from Sir Scrope Bernard detailing conversations with my friends: from Sir George Nugent to the same effect. I write to my uncles, detailing my state of health, and saying that if, after all, they still summon me home, I will come; but I warn them of the consequences.³

A few weeks later comes the entry :

February 11-12.—Plagued with the gout in my right hand.—I however contrived to write to Sir Scrope Bernard, desiring him to go to the Duke of Wellington and explain my friends having made the application for Ireland, ignorant of what had occurred.

The Duke of Buckingham could not, he says, have accepted the Lord Lieutenancy without Catholic Emancipation, 'and with it Lord Anglesey would not have come away.'

Upon Sir Scrope also the infirmities of age were creeping, rendering him apparently more sensitive than ever to noise

¹ See Debrett, Burke, and other *Peerages*. The history is now recorded under the head of 'Kinloss (Baroness).'

² *The Private Diary of Richard, Duke of Buckingham*, vol. i.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii.

and disturbance of any sort. The servants, as I have heard from one of them, often waited long outside his study door, afraid to enter with a message, even when they believed it to be important. He would not suffer the papers on his table ever to be touched by any servant for the purpose of dusting, which perhaps is not surprising; nor would he allow any one to wait up for him, but let himself in on his return from the House of Commons or elsewhere, and, when a fire was necessary, lighted it with his own hands. This practice, which ought to have evoked gratitude for the saving of trouble, and as an evidence of consideration, seems to have been commented on in the servants' hall merely as eccentric.

Unfortunately Sir Scrope had too much on his hands, and, while he was assiduous in Parliamentary business which he seems to have enjoyed, he left the conduct of the bank very much to others. This state of things must have gone on for some years. His son Thomas soon became aware of it after he entered the firm, but could not persuade Sir Scrope to pay any heed to his remonstrances. Mr. Auriol appears to have left the Bank.

Meanwhile, Julia Smith, the last link remaining with the domestic history of the past, was beginning to arouse from the depression into which the losses of her husband and son successively had thrown her. In September, 1827, she made one more record of a tour:

An excursion which I have taken this summer to visit my relations,—*co. Durham*—has tended greatly to relieve and cheer my spirits and soothe my feelings, so long wounded and greatly depressed. The amiable characters of my two nephews '[the Rev. John Collinson and the Rev. Frank Baker]; their active discharge of all their Christian parish duties;—the very kind and most affectionate conduct of my two nieces in every point was quite a cordial to my heart. . . .'

She then expatiates on the special attention they had shown her, even beyond other times;

'feeling that I was almost a solitary being and greatly broken in spirit, I seemed still more sensible of the healing balm.'

The children of Mrs. Collinson likewise were most thoughtful in their behaviour to their afflicted Aunt.

‘Many sensible and amiable persons I was also in the society of, with whom I enjoyed interesting and pleasing intercourse; particularly many who had been much attached to my sister King, and valued her highly.

‘I had much time to myself, and enjoyed many quiet hours in my own room.

‘I returned after ten weeks strengthened in body and lightened in spirits; and most thankful to my Great Preserver, that no accident, no alarm had occurred in this long journey, and rejoiced to see again my daughter and grandchildren well and cheerful.’

The next notice I have of Julia is in the spring of 1829, when she was contemplating a visit to her brother in London; ¹ or, if he could not take her in, to Lady Bernard, in the full belief, probably, that it would be the last opportunity of meeting. If the plan was carried out, the former years in Boston and in Aylesbury were no doubt discussed as they never could be again.

Sir Scrope appears to have continued his attendance on Parliament through this year, 1829. Julia writes to him in November thanking him for his remembrance of the day which had made her a septuagenarian,² ‘an age that only one of our family had attained.’ In his own family he had reason for comfort and contentment, save that the health of his son-in-law, Mr. Spencer, had become a cause of grave anxiety. How far the affairs connected with the bank, which he declined to investigate, troubled him, can never be known.

The last memorandum on the subject of Parliamentary proceedings, which I have come across in his handwriting, is dated February 4, 1830:

The House divided at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 12.

For Sir Edward Knatchbull's Amendment	105
---	-----

For the Address as moved by

Lord Darlington & Mr. Mead	168
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Majority for ministers	63
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¹ MS. Letter at Nether Winchendon.

² *Ibid.*

On April 12, Mrs. Spencer writes :

My Father began to be ill. . . . 19th My Father Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, died at 20 minutes before one P.M. in apparent slumber, at his house No 50 Pall Mall.

The relatives do not appear to have apprehended immediate danger. In a fragment, or rather rough draft, of a letter from Francis Bernard-Morland to some lady not named—probably one of the family connection—he alludes to his father's death as an event 'which though we had been expecting to happen in the course of a year, we were not prepared for so suddenly.' Sir Scrope's sister-in-law, Lady Bernard, wrote, on learning the event, to Francis, as the head of the family :

The fatal end seems like a dream ! Yet I am thankful for many circumstances, & particularly for the duties performed on Easter Sunday.—When you wish it, my carriage shall be sent, to attend as desired.—I shall probably call upon Sophia to-morrow if she likes to see me.

Julia Smith wrote suggesting the insertion of an Obituary Notice of her brother. An article of that description was inserted in the 'Monthly Register' for May 1830. It is not altogether accurate, and if the outlines were furnished by the family, which is not certain, they were apparently filled up by some accustomed writer for the 'Register.' I do not know whether it was the only notice.

Sir Scrope was buried at Great Kimble, in the same vault with his wife and their two elder sons. More than twenty years later, a grandson, George Bernard Spencer, was interred in the same vault. But, in 1876, when his son Sir Francis Bernard-Morland died, he was refused admission to the vault, in which he had earnestly desired to be buried ; advantage was taken, I believe, of alterations in the law, to exclude his remains, which were laid in the churchyard. As it happens, this is now the only grave which can be identified. Shortly after that event, an incumbent, without any intimation to the family, placed an organ over the long

slab which covered the vault, on the north side of the chancel ; and only with difficulty can the last lines of the long inscription be read. No stranger would think of looking for them, and the little that appears relates only to the last burial.

By the death of Sir Scrope his two sons were left to stand the brunt of the condition into which the bank had been placed. I have no particulars of the immediate circumstances which led to its failure ; but the causes which led up to it were apparently the conduct of the chief partner—who became the head after Sir Scrope's decease—in investing his own money in the Regent's Canal, where it was locked up and unavailable when some crisis occurred, and incompetency in the officials. The result was, that, as Mrs. Spencer notes in 1832, March 20 :

The Banking house of Duckett and Morland, in which Frank and Tom were partners, stopped payment.—23rd Banking failure gazetted.

The creditors were paid, as far as was possible ; but my uncle and my father were ruined.

In 1834, Julia Smith, the last of Sir Francis Bernard's children, died at Grantham. With her accustomed kindness she had written offering to make any sacrifice in her power to help her nephews in their trouble. I have no records of her last days, save that her grand-daughter Julia, afterwards Mrs. Schneider, told me that she read the Bible daily, to the last possible moment, and often with her young namesake.

In this year, also, Richard Scrope Bernard-Morland died ; the event was marked by painful circumstances of official neglect. Mrs. Spencer writes :

March 23rd. Received intelligence from Tom of the death of our Brother Richard on the 15th of last October, at Dumdum, near Calcutta. Margaret saw his name in the Obituary of a newspaper in Ireland, and informed Tom, who on enquiry at the India House, found it to be true.

Mrs. Spencer had been in much trouble of her own. She lost her husband in 1831, after a long and trying illness of over two years. Eventually she married the Rev. Edward

Fanshawe Glanville, and remained at Wheatfield, where he held the Rectory, till her eldest son succeeded to it.

With Sir Francis Bernard-Morland the failure of the bank was decisive; he had lost both the Lee and the Kimble properties, and he lived on without an attempt to rally, letting things take their course; a very kind uncle, but lost to all interests beyond a small circle of friends.

Thomas Tyringham Bernard fought his way on for the sake of his children; but the unexpected death of his wife, in 1837, added to his burdens. It took place in Paris—whither they had gone for economy and the education of their children—during a visit which he made to England on business. His life estate in his wife's property had been sold, and this misfortune led to its eventual alienation for ever. There were four children: a second daughter, Sophia Elizabeth, had been born July 8, 1829; a son, David Williams, on the 5th of December, 1830, after Sir Scrope's death; another son, Edward Stanley, on the 3rd of May, 1835. Winchendon had been saved from the general wreck, and Mr. Bernard went to live there, with a second wife, in 1843. His son, Edward Stanley, was a promising child, though for some years delicate, and died at about the age of ten. David Williams Bernard was educated at Eton and Merton College, Oxford; he obtained a Craven Scholarship and a first class in classical honours. He was also well read in French, German, and Sanscrit. Unhappily his intense application to study produced a brain fever, of which he died December 23rd, 1853, after a week's illness.

As far as pecuniary interests were concerned, Mr. Bernard retrieved his position; but these troubles made his success comparatively valueless. He also survived his eldest daughter, Lætitia Charlotte, who had married her cousin Francis Bernard Pigott. In 1876 he succeeded his elder brother in the baronetcy, and was the sixth and last baronet; dying, May 8, 1883, at the age of ninety-one and nearly eight months.

There is one son living of my marriage with Joseph Napier Higgins, of Lincoln's Inn, Q.C., Francis Tying-

ham Higgins Bernard, born July 22, 1864, and married to Evelyn Georgiana, daughter of P. J. D. Wykeham, Esq., of Tythrop House, Oxon. Another son, Edward Stanley Higgins, born January 9, 1866, died at the age of three months and a few days.

My elder sister, Lætitia Charlotte Bernard, left one daughter by her marriage with her cousin, Francis Bernard Pigott,—Louisa Sophia Bernard. She married William Walton, Esq., J.P. for Montgomeryshire, who has issue. The children of my aunt, Mrs. Pigott, were Francis Bernard, already mentioned, General Henry De Rinzy Pigott, who settled in Canada, and left issue three unmarried daughters, Marianne Frances, Harriett Morland, and Margaret Jane.

My aunt Mary Ann, Mrs. Spencer, who appears latterly to have spelt her name Mary Anne, left issue, Harriett Frances, Charles Vere, and George Bernard, who predeceased her. By her second marriage, with Mr. Glanville, she had a daughter, Frances Bernard, who died at the age of nineteen. Her son, Charles Vere, Rector of Wheatfield, was the only one of her children who married and had issue.

APPENDICES

I

AFTER the publication of the first portion of this Family History, I received a letter from Mr. C. Wickliffe Throckmorton, written at 'Morristown, N.J.,' containing the following particulars of a hitherto unknown member of the family:

Colonel William Bernard, of Nansemond Co., Va., son of Francis Bernard, of Kingthorpe, Northamptonshire, and grandson of Francis Bernard of Abington, Esq., *æt.* 23—3 Edw. VI., *ob.* 21 Oct. 44 Eliz. (1602), and his wife Alice, daughter of John Haslewood, of Maidwell, Esq.

William Bernard embarked at Gravesend, England (aged 27) for Virginia in June 1635. He became a member of the Royal Council of Virginia with the rank of Colonel, and was frequently at the meetings of the Council between March 1642-3 and March 1659-60.¹ He resided in Nansemond Co., Va., but as the records of that county have been destroyed, his will cannot be found. The records of York Co., Va., show that his wife was Lucy, only daughter of Captain Robert Higginson, who came to Va. from Dublin, Ireland.

Colonel William Bernard was a younger brother of Sir Robert Bernard, of Brampton Hall, near Huntingdon, created baronet July 1, 1662. In the will of Sir Robert Bernard (dated December 5, 1665, proved May 15, 1666) occurs the following: 'I give to my brother William's son, now at Brampton (the father dying 31 March, 1665) £100 if he live to be 18 and I leave him to my son John to bring up & some care is to be had to enquire what his father left in Virginia.'

Colonel William left at least two children—(1) the son mentioned in the will; (2) Lucy (*d.* November 6, 1675), who married Dr. Edward Gwyn, of Gloucester Co., Va., and left numerous descendants, of whom I am one.

Nothing more seems to be known of Colonel William Bernard's son, who may have returned to America. As his mother must have had Irish relations it seems, however, not unlikely that he may have settled in Ireland, and become the ancestor of some of the Irish Bernards.

¹ *Hening*, vol. i., pp. 239, 526, &c.

II

Mr. Robert G. Bernard claims descent from Thomas Bernard, of Reading, who, by Catherine, daughter of Henry Barnsdale, had a son, Charles, born 1615, who crossed to Ireland in 1649, where he married a Carlow lady. It is clear that this account requires some revision. According to the register of St. Mary's, Reading, Thomas Bernard was married to a lady named Sara, and his son Francis was born in 1614, evidently of this marriage, as no other is mentioned. Charles's birth is not in the register. Where the mistake is I cannot say, and unfortunately I have no facilities for looking into the question and righting it.

III

Note to Vol. IV., Page 239.—Francis Bernard had the luck to be present during the first riot at Covent Garden, in consequence of the prices being raised, and wrote to his sister Mary Ann, after alluding to the intended Jubilee of King George III., a letter,¹ dated September 20, 1809, on this subject :

Last Monday night was the opening of the new Covent Garden Theatre, which was expected to be an uproar ; therefore five hundred of the Guards were ordered to be there, and there were two hundred Constables, under the conduct of Mr Townsend. Directly Mr Kemble came forward to make a speech on the opening of the Theatre, they began hissing and crying ' off, off, off ! ' so loud that Kemble could not go on, as no one whatever could hear him. Afterwards the curtain drew up ; hardly any noise was made till Mrs. Siddons came with the letter in her hand as Lady Macbeth, and the noise was enough to stun one of hissing, hooting, howling, whistling, and crying ' Off, off—Old Prices—no Siddons—no Kemble—no Foreigner '—an allusion to Madame Catalani, ' which continued as loud as ever till the Play was over. During the entertainment of the Quaker, when Mr Incedon, Mr and Mrs Liston in particular, and Miss Bolton, made their first appearance, the applause was as powerful as the hissing was during the Play ; but after the first scene or two they began howling &c, still louder than ever, and they would not leave the house till near four o'clock. I forgot to mention that during Kemble's speech of " Is this a dagger," they made an attempt to board the Stage, but while they were doing it, some of the Constables came up the trap-doors and put some into the Watch-house, while another detachment under Mr Townsend sallied out and attacked the enemy in the rear. Mr T. was sadly bruized. Madame Catalani has since sent word that she would have nothing to do with the theatre, and has set

¹ MS. Letter copied by Miss Spencer into the same volume as her mother's Diary.

out to Dublin with D'Egville and his pupils, and Monsieur and Mad^{me} Deshayes. I have been to the Duenna, and to Mrs Mountain's benefit —*Artaxerxes*;—*Mandane* by Mrs Billington.'

IV

Note to Vol. II., Page 331.—The tablets placed as memorials to Sir Francis and Lady Bernard are not now actually in the vestry, because the vestry has for some years been located elsewhere. But the obscurity and oblivion are the same.

V

Nether Winchendon Manor House has been commonly called 'The Priory,' or 'Winchendon Priory,' in recent times, and I believe even in deeds; but there is no trace of this name before 1843.

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